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THE ASIA MONTHLY

Volume XII Number 5

LONDON MAY 1958

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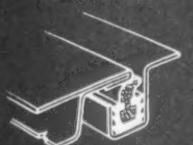
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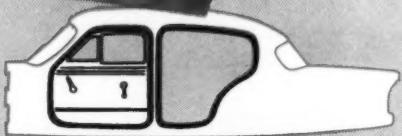


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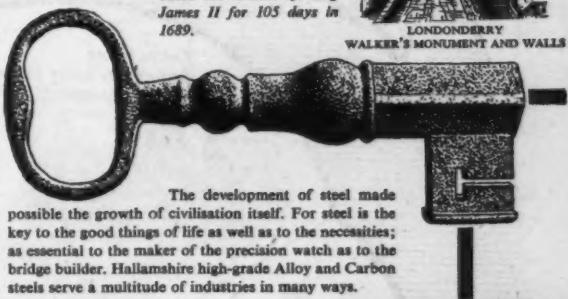
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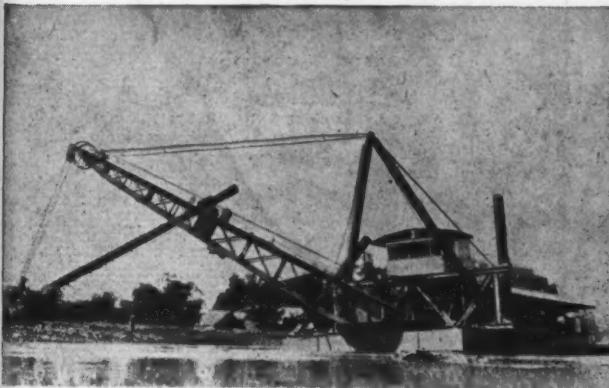


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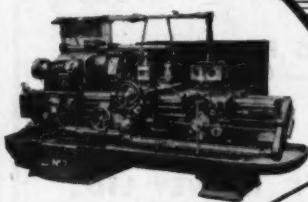
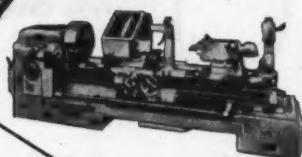
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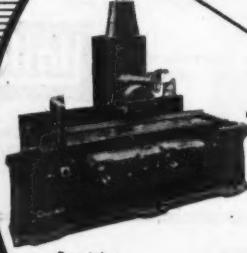
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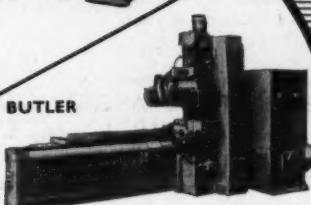
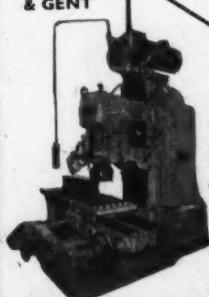
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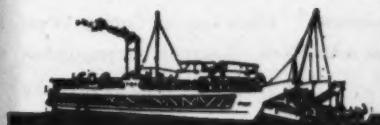
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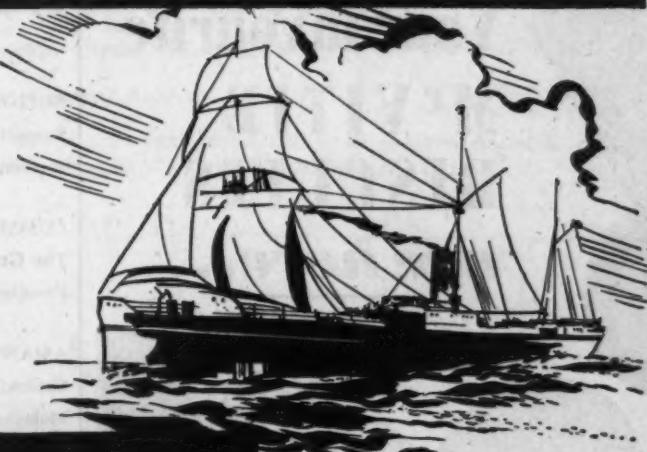
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*The Editor does not hold himself responsible for opinions expressed in signed articles.*

Front cover picture: Daily life on a "klong," one of the many canals criss-crossing Thailand's capital, Bangkok.

(Photo by H. C. Taussig)

# EASTERN WORLD

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## Summit Atmosphere

THE gingerly start last month of diplomatic talks in Moscow, the first preparatory step to a summit conference, may find important recognition in history. Future research workers will try to establish the precise moment or incident that marked the turning point in international relations and the search for a new route to lasting peace. In this, the Moscow meetings are bound to have their place. At last, however tentatively, a start is made.

If not with the advent of the atom bomb, then surely with the hydrogen bomb, the abolition of war has become the necessary prerequisite for the continuation of life and progress. In the last four or five years, an understanding of this axiomatic truth has spread throughout the world. Probably for this very reason, the Moscow meetings are receiving less attention than they deserve. Probably, also, the doubts of summit success, cast from both sides of the Atlantic, act as a deterrent to hope. The public mood appears to be that, although there is absolutely no alternative, it is not yet possible to take for granted an East-West détente.

The Moscow talks between the Soviet Foreign Minister and the ambassadors of America, Britain and France are based on the implicit assumption that there must be a summit meeting, at which the heads of government of at least the four great powers will declare their adherence to permanent peace. This is the irreducible condition of a summit meeting, and of a genuine détente. Resolution of the differences between Moscow and Washington depends, at this stage, on the appreciation of both sides of the effect of such a declaration.

Moscow believes the declaration itself will be a potent force. Many crusted cold-war problems will become more easily negotiable through the initial impulse of the summit declaration. While admitting this possibility, Mr. Dulles fears that the West, under heavy moral pressure, may agree to solutions that do not visibly serve the national interest of the United States. Therefore he would prefer prior agreement on all or most of the existing disputes in order to place a final summit declaration on solid foundations. It is possible that this difference between Moscow and Washington will wreck the current talks, but fresh efforts to negotiate are bound to reappear almost at once.

The world is witnessing today a phenomenon unprecedented in history: the common people of every land, literally voting with their feet, compellingly insist on nuclear disarmament, relaxation of tension, and peace. The leaders of the great powers can never before have experienced, as they are doing now, such powerful restraints on their power, will and diplomacy by the public opinion of their own and foreign countries. It is less widely known that in the Soviet Union, too, public pressure is acting on the Kremlin authority itself. The politics of peace is being determined by the peoples, but their governments, slow and reluctant, still lack the competence to respond effectively.

The general statement from the capitals of all nations, Communist and non-Communist alike, that only madness or a tragic mistake could set off a nuclear war, the gateway to annihilation, itself implies the recognition that peace is now "predetermined." Military authorities and commentators in the US, Britain and the USSR now support this view. It is a deplorable factor in our present situation that small minority interests in the United States and western Germany appear to be dictating the NATO strategy of perpetuating the policy of nuclear "deterrence" or, to put it more bluntly, of nuclear threat. In the US, personalities in the State Department, the Pentagon and the Atomic Energy Authority, and in Germany the Adenauer Cabinet, are singled out by public opinion as the chief obstructionists. These men remain at the centre of western power, and are still able to extract from the remaining NATO governments allegiance to the strategy and diplomacy of massive retaliation.

While even Mr. Dulles and Dr. Adenauer now acknowledge the genuineness of the Soviet desire for peace, their frankly admitted fear is that world peace without the restrictive "containment" of what they regard as international Communism will lead inevitably to the Communisation of the world. Mr. Khrushchev, of course, is of the same opinion, as his famous remark "We shall bury you" makes clear. But he is quite willing to be patient, and to give democracy the opportunity of proving that it provides the better life. He has challenged the US to economic competition, asserting confidently that within a

very few years, Soviet citizens will enjoy better food, better clothes, and generally a higher standard of living than the people of the US. So far the western public seems more inclined than its governments to accept the challenge, to take the risk of Communism winning the peace, rather than to lose peace altogether.

Here is where the two main streams of opinion clash — that of power balance as against ideological rivalry. Statesmen, historians, political commentators, philosophers, all agree that the concept of power is no longer operative. The urgency is all for the establishment of a code of peaceful "coexistence" of the two systems operating in peaceful competition. Until this is accepted there can be little hope of a firmly established peace. Any summit meeting that is to set this process in motion must start from the premise of coexistence and competition between capitalism and Communism.

So many people in different parts of the world are reaching this conclusion that, notwithstanding mutual misunderstanding and confusion in Moscow and Washington, direct contact and diplomacy are being evolved throughout the world. Public demonstrations alike in Britain, America and Germany against the nuclear arms race, agitation in India, France and the Soviet Union for a summit meeting are all bringing pressure to bear on the governments concerned. So universal is the feeling that even musical comedians join in the campaign for permanent peace. The two levels of development — the diplomatic and the popular — are complements of each other. Continued public pressure is necessary to reduce and ultimately eliminate the risks of accident or lunacy. At the same time, minds must be conditioned to tolerance and reverence even for those with whom one is engaged in debate or competition.

## KASHMIR AGAIN

**I**T is particularly unfortunate that whenever the question of Kashmir comes into prominence India seems to the uninformed world reader to be in the wrong; and arrogant into the bargain. A certain degree of arrogance no one could deny, but being in the wrong is a different matter. The legal side of the question apart, India has very good reasons for taking her present stand on the question. It may come as a surprise to many to learn that the majority of Muslims in India support Delhi's case on Kashmir, for the understandable reason of self preservation. If the Kashmir question became a point of issue between Muslim and Hindu, the followers of Islam in India — far greater in numbers than the population of West Pakistan — would suffer the consequences of communal strife. This is something which they, and the Government in Delhi, cannot bear to think about.

Dr. Graham's recommendations are commendable in a limited fashion, but they are formulated from an outsider's point of view. To be completely commendable they must take into account the feeling of both sides. To do otherwise is unrealistic and can only cause antagonism by one side or the other.

Surely it is understandable that India would not accept Dr. Graham's suggestion that both sides to the dispute should sit down on each side of the United Nations mediator. India has no feeling of guilt about Kashmir, except in so far as to recognise that the world thinks, quite erroneously, she should have such a feeling. Pakistan can afford to accept everything that is suggested by a mediating body, for she has everything to gain and nothing at all to lose. While recognising that feeling runs high in Pakistan about Kashmir, it should also be borne in mind that it does so because political elements use the religious argument to good effect. Religious and mystical arguments have confused the political scene in many parts of the world for too long: on our own doorstep, Ireland is a case in point.

The feeling is strong in India, and it is not without

foundation that Pakistan's attitude about Kashmir is more or less academic, not having the mandate of the electorate. For India to agree to Dr. Graham's recommendation to have United Nations troops in the sub-continent to satisfy the aim of Pakistani politicians, would be a tacit recognition that the underlying disagreements between India and Pakistan can be solved by outside intervention, for Kashmir is really only a by-product of a large incompatibility, between the two countries, of non-secularism versus secularism.

It is not generally accepted that India's attitude is largely due to the internal situation in Pakistan. If a more progressive, enlightened, attitude were to prevail in Pakistan, India's attitude would change. Mr. Nehru and political elements in Delhi would probably deny that what goes on in Pakistan could influence their reaction to Kashmir, but the fact is that if a change took place in Pakistan through election or for some other reason, and the direction of Karachi's vision was to switch from close attachment to the West to closer association with the non-committed position of the majority of countries in South-East Asia, Delhi would be more accommodating in its attitude to Kashmir.

It is not too exaggerated to say that Kashmir has become another cold war position, and if the division of Germany or Viet Nam, or Korea were solved, Kashmir would fall into place without much bother. There is no doubt that the political elements in control of Pakistan at this time view the Pakistan situation not so much from the standpoint of the country's self interest, as from their own, personal, self-interest.

Dr. Graham has performed a commendable service in trying to reach an agreement in the Kashmir situation, but the solution he has put forward in his last report skates too lightly over the surface of the deep rooted differences between India and Pakistan. Kashmir is the rash on the surface — the cause of it is as much psychological as physical.

## Comment

### Unequal Prospects

THE annual report on Europe's economic health prepared by the Secretariat of the Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), *Economic Survey of Europe in 1957*, draws contrasting pictures of the economic trends in West and East Europe and the under-developed countries. It notes that the rate of expansion in 1957 of western Europe as a whole was below that of 1955 for the second year running, and that this slowing-down process seems likely to continue throughout 1958. By contrast, the position in eastern Europe and the Soviet Union is much better than had been expected at the beginning of last year, nor is there any sign of a change in this trend for the current year.

A warning was incorporated in the even gloomier trends of trade between western Europe and the "primary exporting countries" — a comprehensive term applied to all countries other than western Europe, North America, Japan, eastern Europe, the Soviet Union and mainland China. Though the pattern of trade has altered greatly, there has over the last thirty years been little improvement in the total value of trade between these two groups of countries. Western Europe is buying less and less of the usual primary agricultural products, but taking increasing quantities of petroleum and minerals. A growing number of countries find themselves increasingly short of foreign exchange with which to pay for their imports of both capital and consumption goods.

The present position is that whereas the per capita export income as well as import capacity of the oil-exporting countries alone are comparable with that of western Europe, the mainly agricultural exporters, who form some 90 percent of the primary exporting populations, face a declining prospect. In fact, as the Survey points out, the vast expansion in world trade over the past three decades has bypassed large areas of the under-developed world. The Asian part of this situation has been reported by the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE), and commented in these columns last month ("Dark Shadows," p.13).

Contrast this again with the position in eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. The Survey finds that between 1950 and 1956 the rate of growth of the foreign trade of these countries exceeded that of world trade in general, and that its share of world trade has risen from 7 percent in 1950 to 15 percent in 1956. To appreciate the full import of these facts and the effect they are having in the under-developed world, the dominating position of the western industrial countries in world trade must also be taken into consideration. According to the Survey:

In 1956, trade among the countries of North America and western Europe amounted to about two-fifths of world trade, whereas trade among the primary exporting countries made up less than one-tenth of world trade; the trade between these two groups amounted to another two-fifths of world trade, the remaining tenth being accounted for by the trade of Japan and the extra-trade of eastern Europe, the Soviet Union and mainland China.

The high western share in world trade is, of course, a measuring rod of its higher levels of both total and per capita output and income. It should be noted that internal

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trade between the Socialist countries is not included in the Survey's figures for "world trade." It is not the function of ECE to draw political lessons from the results of its research, but it suggests that to reduce the imbalance and unequal development in world economy, higher investment in the primary exporting countries by the industrial countries would be desirable. The exclusion of the political aspect of the problem is clearly a matter of form. It emerges almost as a truism that if prompt action is not taken, western influence will be ejected from the "primary exporting countries" in some cases, as witness North Africa, with explosive force.

### Rebels with the Wrong Cause

END to the fighting in Sumatra, and the military rout of the rebel government does not mean that President Sukarno's worries are over. The basic reason for the dissident movement — dissatisfaction with over-centralisation and lack of attention to the needs of the outer regions — is shared by many throughout Indonesia's scattered islands. The movement was able to achieve some success because it made use of the army's disgruntlement. It is regrettable that to the outside world the conflict took on the character of anti-Communists openly opposing, to use the American State Department's words, "the growing influence of Communism in Indonesia." Although it is true that Dr. Sukarno has among his closest advisers some who are Communists, and others who are Marxist theorists, the Government in Djakarta is not Communist, nor has it behaved in such a way as to give the impression that it was.

The Americans are always ready to pronounce upon certain situations in terms of sharp positives and negatives: who is for Communism and who is against it. For those outside, official and unofficial, who dislike Sukarno, the rebel movement presented a wonderful opportunity, and whether they liked it or not, the rebels were given a cause — "opposing the growing influence of Communism." This has obscured and confused the real issues in Indonesia, where moderates, with Dr. Hatta, the former Vice-President, in the forefront, are pressing for similar reforms as those originally demanded by the rebel government: more say in the central administration by the outlying regions, and less power for a few people at the top. The fact that these young guard, or moderates, or "new thinkers" or whatever you

like to call them, are having to try and lessen the influence that extreme left wingers have on the President, is incidental.

To endow a virtue on a dissident movement like that in Sumatra presents other dangers. To a young nation like Indonesia communalism is at least as dangerous as Communism. It is a cancer which if encouraged, or ignored, can eat away at stability until chaos reigns. In India it led to Gandhi's death and the slaughter of millions. Ceylon is pervaded with it now; it bedevils a solution in Cyprus, and Malaya's stability is in jeopardy because of it. In Indonesia communalism, in the shape of the fanatical Muslim organisation, Darul Islam, has been chipping away at the structure of democracy for years. The rebel movement in Sumatra associated itself with the Darul Islam, and this has rightly damned it in the eyes of other Asian countries. It is unfortunate that Dr. Hatta and the young guard in Djakarta did not more openly condemn the rebels' courting of communalism. For not having done so the young guard, if they achieve their political aim, may have to pay a high price. With so many cross-currents of opinion in Indonesia, objectives and causes have become confused and misdirected. But it is certain that the rebels did not set out on a crusade, even though they later found themselves taking part in one.

### Mr. Lim's Mission

WHEN Mr. Lim Yew Hock, the Chief Minister of Singapore, comes to London later this month at the head of an all-party delegation, he will no doubt have a rough passage of arms with the Colonial Office about the clause proposed for the constitution that "known subversives" would not be allowed to contest elections. It will be recalled that at the very end of last year's conference the Colonial Secretary insisted on the clause in the face of unanimous opposition of the Singapore delegation. It is to Mr. Lim's credit that he still stands against such an undemocratic move.

In the past year the political climate in the colony has become decidedly warmer. The left wing People's Action Party swept the board in the municipal elections, and the demand for the real substance of self-government has become more insistent. The Chief Minister seems convinced that if more people voted in elections, extreme left wing elements would be less likely to show substantial gains. He may, therefore, try to demand from the Colonial Office the right to make voting in the colony compulsory. This manoeuvre will lay Mr. Lim open to the criticism that he wishes to resort to totalitarian tactics to perpetuate himself in office.

He must always have one eye on what independent Malaya thinks, and he may feel that the future chances of Singapore becoming part of Malaya will be jeopardised if the colony moves too far left. Compulsory voting, however, is hardly likely to put a brake on such a development, and it may spring back to his disadvantage.

His main task in London will be to see that the constitution for self-government gives Singapore enough elbow room, especially in matters affecting trade, to make a success of it. Last year's agreement was a good one. The constitution that is now to grow out of the agreement should go through without too much trouble.

### Pakistan Disenchanted

**R**EACTION against one's powerful and rich friends for their shortcomings is always more spiteful if you have lost a great deal of your pride ingratiating yourself for their support. This perhaps explains why Mr. Firoz Khan Noon, the Pakistan Prime Minister, was so bitter in his attack on Britain and the United States when he accused them recently of failing to help Pakistan in the dispute with India over Kashmir.

His speech was a sorry tale of a bitterly disillusioned man, an outward expression of the anguish Pakistan must now be feeling at the path she has chosen over the past few years. Those who have been her severest critics somehow felt the time of disenchantment was not far off. Everyone, of course, except Pakistan herself was to blame for the present malaise according to the Prime Minister. Britain's policy had been positively villainous, for while purporting to support the Karachi Government, it had been selling aircraft and arms to India; American economic help for India was wrong because it allowed India to divert money for the purchase of military equipment; and India was the worst villain of all—hell bent on the domination of Asia.

Through these transparent accusations the plight of Pakistan can be clearly seen. The issue of Kashmir is all consuming, and because of it the country has been arming beyond the capabilities of its economy. The disenchantment has come for both Pakistan and her allies, because the latter desires an ally against the Russians, not a provocation to the Indians; and Pakistan has realised that her friends are not ready to wholeheartedly support her military preparedness against India. In world affairs a sympathetic India is of greater value to the western powers than an ailing Pakistan. This trend has been evident for years, and statesmen in Karachi have been running themselves into a diplomatic cul-de-sac because they were not prepared to recognise it.

Most people in the Commonwealth have glossed over Pakistan's faults and mistakes because everyone has hoped that things would turn out all right in the end, but all those who have closely observed the Pakistan scene in recent years have been worried at the ultimate results of her policy. Apart from the tragically increased suspicion between herself and India, there is the desperate state of her economy. America has poured in millions of dollars in aid, but it has created more problems than it has solved, and today her balance of trade gets steadily worse. Plans for the development of industry can come to nothing so long as she spends so much

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on arms. It needs little imagination to see that much of the money in Pakistan finds its way into relatively few pockets; and no one can see where it is all going to end.

At the hub of everything is the Kashmir affair, but few can be sanguine that even the possibility of a settlement in Pakistan's favour would alter the downhill trend. More on

economic development and less on defence expenditure would seem to be the simple answer, but for the ordinary Pakistani living on a few annas a day, many more radical changes will have to take place if he is not to become increasingly susceptible to Communist propaganda over the next few years.

## THE GREAT INDIAN ILLUSION

C. R. M. Rao (*New Delhi*)

NINETEEN fifty-seven was the year of Deliverance for the Bhoodan movement, or what is known outside India as the "Indian Land-gift mission." By the end of that year the movement was expected to fulfil the rather tall mission of collecting 50 million acres of voluntary land gifts and redistributing them all to landless tillers of the soil and thus provide a more or less lasting solution to the chronic problem of resettlement of India's millions of landless peasants. Not merely this. The movement was also expected, in the process, to bring about a wider and comprehensive psychological, social and economic revolution in the country which would lead to a radical, yet peaceful, moral and material reconstruction of the Indian man and society as a whole.

In actual fact, however, none of these immediate targets or ultimate aims of Bhoodan is anywhere near fulfilment today. (If one were to go by statistics alone, only less than six million acres of land have been collected so far and not more than one-tenth of this figure has been distributed). Nor would they at all seem likely to be fulfilled even in another 50 years, if we take a close look at the cure-all nature of the movement, the ever-expanding aims of its leaders and the general pace of its progress during the past six years. But before we look more closely into the reasons for this glaring lag between Bhoodan's promise and performance, or, indeed, to be better able to see their real import, we may as well know how far "objective conditions" in India were congenial to the movement.

It may be said at the very outset that few social or economic reform movements in the history of any country have had the exceptional good fortune, propitious circumstances, and national and international acclamation, which the Bhoodan movement of India has had from almost its very inception. Firstly, it had behind it all the social, political and religious prestige which could be invoked in the name of Mahatma Gandhi. Secondly, the general social awakening and desire for economic amelioration coming in the wake of political independence, governmental measures such as abolition of landlordism and introduction of Tenancy Laws for protecting tenant-tillers, and the subsequent passing of appropriate legislations by many States to smooth the transfer of Bhoodan lands—all these factors have combined to make the going considerably easy for Bhoodan.

Thirdly, the two main *national* political parties in the country—the ruling Congress and the languishing Praja Socialist Opposition—vied with each other for long to champion the movement which was widely recognised as being truer to the Gandhian tradition than either of them was as a political child of Gandhism. Even the Indian Communists, to whose terrorism and banditry in Telengana (Hyderabad) Bhoodan came as a dramatic answer, could find

no convincing reasons—Marxian or otherwise—to oppose it. The rest of the parties and politicians in the country, with perhaps a couple of notable exceptions, mostly had to climb the bandwagon to avoid public opprobrium. In short, it won the badge of public respectability for anyone who even gave lip-service to the movement. Thus, it soon acquired a non- or all-party character claiming and receiving in ample measure the support and adulation of all. Lastly, the Indian press hailed Bhoodan with much noise and great eclat and blazoned it forth into world-wide circulation.

### Achievements immaterial

Given this rare combination of favourable circumstances, to say nothing of other material advantages like provision of large funds by the Gandhi Memorial Fund and by other generous private individuals and firms, any movement could be reasonably expected to realise most, if not all, of its immediate as well as ultimate aims and objects. Not that the achievements of the Bhoodan movement up to now are of no significance at all. They undoubtedly are impressive and also of great significance in themselves. But in relation to the ambitious aims and objects of the movement, they are quite as certainly immaterial. Thus it is that in spite of the initial advantages and favourable circumstances, the utter impossibility of achieving its immediate targets or any of its ultimate aims, within the prescribed time-schedule, became evident not so long after the inception of the movement.

In the first place, much of the popular enthusiasm and emotion felt for Bhoodan was due to the elements of drama, pathos and excitement it provided to the participants. And this still remains very true. Indeed, "drama" seems to be the very soul of the movement. For it was born in dramatic circumstances—as a dramatic answer to Communism; its author-leader himself, Vinoba Bhave, is a dramatic, saintly, personality who walks and talks dramatically; and the entire process of giving, taking and distributing of lands is highly dramatised and charged with pathos. The leaders of the movement in all their saintly penchant for humility and love of simplicity, have said or done little to curb this drama and excitement. Which is an indication of why the movement was hardly expected to derive much strength from the principles or methods advocated, although these have a good deal that is commendable in them. Furthermore, the leaders of Bhoodan have mainly aimed at bringing about a miraculous change of heart in people, tending to underrate the essentially capricious nature of all heart-change unless accompanied by a deeper change of mental outlook. But changing the mental outlook, especially of a people as steeped in poverty and ignorance as India's, is really a matter of long and patient effort by the leaders in educating them in the new ways of life and thought. But this could

not probably be given pride of place in the programme of a movement which also aimed at spectacular success in a short time, much in the manner of a thumping election victory!

To base or build a movement of such serious and far-reaching social intent on the shifting sands of mass emotion and enthusiasm, or on the capricious change of people's hearts, was by no means the best or the only way of achieving lasting moral or material good. Such an achievement was rendered doubly difficult by the mounting ambition of the author and leaders of the movement who had not only aimed impossibly high, but continually stretched the scope of their aims to a point where the gap between professed aims and tangible achievements became unbridgeable. And this widening gap has resulted in the deflation of public faith in Bhoodan's revolutionary potentialities, which in turn has resulted in the frequent digressions of Bhoodan into every conceivable kind of *dan* and in the differing conceptions of its success offered from time to time—now stressing the statistical conception of collecting 50 million acres by 1957 and now denying altogether that the real worth of Bhoodan could be measured in material terms.

Thus, in its year of Deliverance, Bhoodan presents a picture which even its author could scarcely have visualised. Whether as a practical land reform movement or as a means to the larger end of radical reconstruction of Indian man and society, Bhoodan remains largely unrealised and unrealisable. Yet the central idea of *dan* (or the sentiment of charity) has come to mean much more than mere "bhoo-dan" (land-gift). In a rather vain attempt to widen the scope of the movement, its leaders have so overworked this idea as to produce the exact contrary, and sometimes amusing, effect of further splitting the idea as well as the movement into *Shrama-dan*, *Buddhi-dan*, *Sampatti-dan*, all inexorably leading to *Sarvaswa-dan* (or *dan* of everything you possess) and finally to *Jeevan-dan* (or *dan* of one's own life) which is perhaps the limit to which *dan* can be pushed. So that it has now come to mean so much more than mere "land"-gift that it means all things to all people. Which means nothing in particular to anyone.

In what looks like an obvious effort to live down this paradoxical failure of Bhoodan in the very midst of success, its leaders have now offered *Gramdan* (or gifts of whole villages) from their rich repertoire of *dans*. But it would be highly naive of anyone to believe that Gramdan has succeeded in deflecting our attention from the many glaring failures and shortcomings of Bhoodan. For one thing, Gramdan offers little that is redeeming in itself. For another, it rather tends to destroy much that was good in Bhoodan. In 1957 Bhoodan virtually yielded place to Gramdan. From gifts of a few acres, or even small stretches, of land, the movement has now passed on to demanding gifts of entire villages, and if Vinoba Bhave's cosmic aims are to be taken seriously, it may not be long before Gramdan kindles *Taluk-dan* and then *District-dan* (or *dan* of larger contiguous areas comprising a group of villages and small towns) and then . . . well, who knows where it will all end up? They are already talking of *Nagar-dan*, or gifts of towns. All this gives one the unmistakable impression today that Bhoodan has become sterile and is gradually fading out as a direct result of the emergence of Gramdan and the further promise of *Taluk-dan* and *District-dan*.

The admirers of Bhoodan might well retort indignantly that Gramdan is not the antithesis but the logical outcome

of Bhoodan. To which the obvious answer is that, as far as the logic of Bhoodan is concerned, even *Sarvaswa-dan* (or *dan* of everything you possess) is equally consistent with it, but once you give away everything you possess, the next logical thing for you to do would be to renounce the world and retreat to the Himalayas. This may indeed be *Jeevan-dan* (or sacrifice of one's life) par excellence! But it all leads us nowhere. And Bhoodan was certainly more mundane at its inception. Otherwise, the very causes of its birth and the very material successes it has achieved since, would be altogether inexplicable.

#### Contribution to democracy

So, coming back to the point, Bhoodan stands in a real danger of being consigned to the scrap heap by its own offshoots *Gramdan*, *Nagardan* and so on. All this, perhaps, betrays the sneaking sympathy of this writer for Bhoodan. But, now that Bhoodan has definitely passed its peak while its physical targets and fundamental aims yet remain unrealisable, the main interest would seem to lie in assessing its contribution to the development and growth of democracy in India. For Bhoodan had everything on its side to build democracy in India from below, from the grass-roots level. It seems, therefore, worth considering briefly whether, purely from the standpoint of democracy, Bhoodan, with all its shortcomings, is not preferable to Gramdan. Strictly speaking, even Bhoodan cannot be regarded as a democratic force, except in a negative sense. Two important, but entirely extraneous, circumstances have combined to make Bhoodan a negative force for democracy in India. As stated earlier, it came as a dramatic answer to Communist terrorism and banditry in Telengana. Western writers and observers of Asian affairs lavished fulsome praise on the movement and magnified its merits not because it added a new dimension to the concept of democracy but because its strong spiritual-religious flavour could act as an effective prophylactic against Communism in India. (Unfortunately for them, Kerala has gone Communist in spite of Bhoodan!) This even led some to hope that Bhoodan would spread to other countries and probably be an answer to Communism all over Asia. Democracy must, one would think, be an utterly bankrupt ideal in itself, the way so many of its ardent champions so indiscriminately identify it with anti-Communism of every brand!

Rising spontaneously as an independent movement at a time of growing concentration of economic and political power in the hands of the State and control by it of other important aspects of social life in India, Bhoodan certainly represented a healthy and hopeful trend in the reverse direction. The very fact of its emergence was a challenge to the widespread and, to some extent, still persisting belief in India that social change could only be brought about either from above by a strong political authority or by a violent revolution, and showed that abiding and qualitative social changes could be brought about only by the voluntary, cooperative and creative efforts of free individuals. It is really in this sense alone that the achievements of Bhoodan so far can still be regarded as significant in themselves, irrespective of its other shortcomings.

But the complexion taken on subsequently by Bhoodan has belied that faint initial democratic promise. For, instead of fruitfully exerting themselves a little more to consolidate their gains by justly and speedily resettling the landless poor on whatever lands were collected, and then proceeding to lay the foundations of rural democracy by education the

rehabilitated peasants to be sturdy, self-respecting and self-reliant individuals, confident and capable of shaping their own destiny, the Bhoojan leaders engaged themselves for the most part in the diversion of exploring the heights (or depths) of the idea of *dan*. If instead of multiplying aims faster than achievements and carrying Bhoojan to fantastic lengths, the sponsors had made concerted effort from the very start to solve the land problem first and then other related social problems on a modest scale, then the revolution and reconstruction brought about even in that small sphere would have made a more lasting contribution to the larger Indian society. That would have also been the best guarantee for its success elsewhere. But all that was not to be. The ambition of the saintly Bhoojan leaders could not be confined to small areas. They would win the whole world with Bhoojan! Indeed, Vinoba Bhave has talked of international Bhoojan—of over-populated Japan being offered land-gifts by Australia!

#### Place of the individual

On the positive side, of course, Bhoojan had within it at least a streak of democratic virtue in that its emphasis was more on the individual. Its appeal was primarily to the conscience of the individual and even when it aimed at mass conversion of hearts it could only have had the individual in view. Further, when aiming at resettling the landless, Bhoojan did not insist on the individual peasant giving up his right or pride in the ownership of land. Far from this, it actually encouraged such pride. But Gramdan is sweeping in its scope and makes short shrift of democratic virtues. It distrusts the individual and has little use for him except as a guinea-pig in the experiments for the larger good of the village society. Its appeal is to an entire village community rather than the individual. It regards the individual's pride in the possession of land as anti-social. By its very emphasis on mass cooperation and mass organisation of individual forces towards a set social goal, it inevitably destroys a large part of individual freedom. In sum, Gramdan discourages any manifestation of individualism. It really asks the individual peasant to lose his identity in the village collectivity. And what is today only a village collectivity will be the *Taluk* collectivity tomorrow and the *District* collectivity the day after, dwarfing the human individual in the end to a position no more significant than that of a speck of dust in an acre of land. That is the hard logic of Gramdan. It is curious indeed how the minds of men in pursuit of fixed social and economic goals, even when professing faith in democratic means, are permeated by thoughts of regimentation of the individual. But this really is the point where all collectivist philosophies converge. To slightly rearrange the words uttered by Vinoba Bhave at one of the annual Sarvodaya Conferences, "the rivers Ganga of Sarvodaya, Jamuna of Socialist Pattern and Saraswati of Welfare-Statism, all seem to merge into the *mahasagar* (ocean) of Communism."

The conclusion seems inescapable: if Bhoojan was only negatively democratic, Gramdan tends to be positively undemocratic. The latter half of the conclusion is further reinforced by recent developments. The Government has found in the Gramdan villages a convenient and ready-made ground for introducing cooperative farming. And this matter, in all its aspects, for long engaged the active attention of the Indian Planning Commission. In fact, some months ago, a master plan estimated to cost a few crores of rupees, was drawn up by it for cooperative settlement

of farmers on Bhoojan and Gramdan lands. Latest reports have it that the Ministry of Community Development is taking a special interest in Gramdan villages and that, as a result, there will be greater cooperation from now on between Government's Community Projects and development work in Gramdan villages. The Prime Minister himself is seriously interested in working out the details of this cooperation.

#### Marriage of convenience

All this, of course, could not be the result of a one-sided Government desire alone. The Bhoojan leaders and workers themselves have found the movement unmanageable especially in its Gramdan phase, without some kind of Government assistance. It probably also appeared to them to be the only way of saving the movement from utter failure in the very year of its fulfilment. Another consideration probably was that, what was lost by renouncing the financial assistance from the Gandhi Memorial Fund in a huff early in 1957, would be more than regained if the Government came to its rescue. These practical considerations seem to have impelled the leaders of Bhoojan willy-nilly to invite Government help. It was thus for both Government and the movement a marriage of convenience. Yet another fact of more than ordinary import which reinforces the conclusion is that collective or cooperative farming based on abolition of all private ownership (as signified by *Sarvaswa-dan*) and pooling of land are regarded as wholly compatible with the ends of Gramdan and the Gandhian social philosophy of *Sarvodaya*. Of course, the leaders of Bhoojan anticipate democratic objections to cooperative farming and protest that abolition of private ownership and pooling of land will be entirely voluntary in Gramdan villages. But, then, in the same breath, they go on to prescribe a target of at least one model cooperative farming unit in every Gramdan village. That there may be many villages where even the smallest land-owner may not agree to be pooled or collectivised is not reckoned as a serious difficulty. Few indeed seem at all concerned about the presence of the element of coercion in the apparently innocuous target of even one small model cooperative farming unit for every Gramdan village.

Theoretically, of course, cooperative farming need not always or necessarily be undemocratic. If most, if not all, other conditions of democracy existed, cooperative farming might only do good. But given the present level of democracy and the manner of its functioning in India; the Government's own imported notions about cooperative farming laying emphasis on more and more cooperatives than on genuine cooperation; and above all, given the naive idealism of the Bhoojan leaders who try to preach to the Communists but get themselves half-converted—given these, the dangers of cooperative or collective farming in India can be slurred over only at the peril of democracy.

Apart from these dangers, it certainly is a fall for the high priests of Gandhian Sarvodaya, which stands for a Stateless society, to seek the help of the Government in a sphere which, they have all along upheld, must be free from it. It also bodes ill for freedom and democracy in a country where no reform movement of any real social significance can remain independent of Government "assistance," which usually means interference in one form or another. On all these counts, therefore, what was once a legitimate and modest democratic hope is now very nearly one of the great illusions of our time.

# FRONTIERS WITH CHINA

*By Bernard Llewellyn*

IT is one of the ironies of geopolitics that you feel nearer Peking in Macao or Hong Kong or Singapore than you do in Seoul where it is only five hundred miles away across the Gulf of Chihli and the Yellow Sea. From South Korea it would be as easy to reach the moon as it would be to reach Peking. President Rhee allows no communications with the red world beyond the 38th Parallel. Refugees now living in South Korea have long since resigned themselves to hearing nothing from their families in the North. I once had a Korean interpreter whose home was north of the Parallel in Wonsan. He did not know whether his parents were alive or dead, and when I tried to find out for him I had to send a tortuous communication by way of Hong Kong. The frontier to the North is closed; the peninsula which centuries ago was one of the extremities of the Chinese Empire has some twenty South Korean divisions ranged across it.

From the New Territories opposite Hong Kong you can at least see China. As you drive northwards from the crowded streets of Kowloon towards the border, you become increasingly aware of its artificiality. Ten years ago, of course, the word "border" had little significance at all, and I used to cross it at will on the train and on the boat, scarcely aware that I had passed from British to Chinese territory. Imperceptibly does China fade into the New Territories and the New Territories into China. The rice fields are the same and the little farmsteads, the Hakka women with their fringed, lampshade hats, the grey ruminating water buffaloes with their curved horns. It was understandable that some people should make a habit of addressing their letters to "Hong Kong, China."

Today you are made conscious of the frontier. One's thoughts are political as one approaches. The frontier to the political man of the mid-twentieth century has become the bars of a cage. Inside is the Red Dragon—no longer the mythical guardian of the imperial shrine, but a puissant menacing creature busy sharpening its claws, arching its back, grinding its teeth, and seeking whom it may devour. It is a ferocious monster and very anti-American in its sentiments. It is no wonder that the tourists—especially the transatlantic ones—seek to catch a glimpse of it through the bars.

The Chinese whose car I was in did not attempt to take me right up to the border. He was a man who had made no attempt to revisit Canton since he had left that city some years before. He could have got a permit easily enough; but since there had been cases of visitors from Hong Kong being arrested as "counter-revolutionaries" once they had crossed the frontier, he was not too eager to try. He was no more a "counter-revolutionary" than the next man; but the phrase is so elastic that it might be stretched to fit anybody at all. We came to where we could see a strip of fencing running across the fields and blue-grey hills beyond. "That's China!" he said.

It was certainly no Maginot Line. We had passed two or three Army camps in the car; but they were comparatively unobtrusive, and rightly so. The colony has long

since realised that this is a frontier which could not be defended against a serious Chinese attack. Even the island across the narrow strip of water would nowadays have to be defended by US planes flying out of Formosa; and even then it is doubtful whether it would last a week. Hong Kong residents wear different coloured glasses as they look into the future. They all know there can be no long-term security, and that such security as there is is probably dependent on not barbing the frontier and refraining from threatening postures along it.

Macao, some forty miles west of Hong Kong and three and a half hours distant by steamer, has an even more ancient frontier with China. This Portuguese settlement is four hundred years old, and is virtually the original gateway through which European visitors first came in any numbers to China. The Polos and the other "overlanders" had travelled the hard way from Europe—through the Wakhan and the high passes of the Pamirs; but their successors, the Jesuits who came east filled with the passionate spirit of St. Francis Xavier, came by ship to this settlement to study Chinese and await permission to proceed to China.

Macao is a thin peninsular hanging from the coast of China. Across its narrow neck the Chinese always had a barrier to make sure the barbarians from the west should not enter the Celestial Empire without permission. Today the barrier is still there. In a trishaw I was pedalled up the north-south road leading to the Porta do Cerco or Barrier Gate.

I was not allowed to take any photographs when I got there. That was the only restriction. There was a Portuguese Army barracks on the right of the road and a few soldiers were lounging casually here and there. Some Chinese pedestrians sauntered through the gate under the casual eyes of the police who peeped perfumitorily into their baggage and waved them on. I saw nobody stopped. The trishaw coolie pointed northwards beyond the gate to a hillside where there was a white look-out tower. Then he showed me the little dog-eared book in which he kept his tourist information. "Pak Sha Leang," I read. "Red China Customs Post. No fotos."

It all seemed very friendly. The Portuguese are well aware that Macao exists on sufferance, free so long as it does not threaten the powerful neighbour to whose skirts the settlement clings. The Americans, one suspects, would have made the frontier a far more terrifying place. Certainly the armaments would have been more efficient than the ancient cannons of Monte Fort. At the very least there would surely have been a huge notice warning tourists of the poisonous air to the north and telling them that they were standing on the last bulwark of the Free World.

Macao could not care less about being a bulwark of the Free World. Indeed, there does not seem to be much it does care about. It sleeps in the sunshine, its inhabitants indolently acquiescing in the world as it is, making no attempt to change anything. And if the word "security" has any meaning at all in this part of the world, I came away feeling that the Portuguese had found the way to it.

## ASIAN SURVEY

### BANDARANAIKE'S TWO YEARS

*From J. A. Perera (Colombo)*

**T**HE People's United Front, headed by Premier Solomon Bandaranaike was swept into office on the crest of a wave of anti-conservative feeling in April 1956 and since then has chalked up a number of credits in the political and economic spheres. In these two years, the Government apart from stabilising itself has made available to the people the first fruits of a Socialist regime. These Socialist measures have enhanced the prestige of the Government at home, although abroad, particularly in Mincing Lane and Fenchurch Street the present Government is viewed with suspicion because of its plans to nationalise estates, banking and insurance in which there are still fairly considerable financial interests.

The Government's first act on assuming office was to pass a Bill making Sinhalese only the Official Language of the country. Tamil, which is spoken by slightly over a quarter of the population was excluded. This provoked the wrath of the Tamil speaking peoples who predominate in the northern and eastern provinces. Under the banner of the Federal Party which has ten MP's in a House of 101, the Tamils threatened a *satyagraha* campaign in opposition to the Sinhala Only Bill. Premier Bandaranaike then initiated a series of discussions with the Federal leaders and was able to arrive at a satisfactory solution to a problem which threatened to disrupt the unity of the nation. The Pact provided for the reasonable use of Tamil in the predominantly Tamil areas and also for a Regional Councils Bill, which will give Tamils a considerable degree of autonomy in managing their own affairs. The conclusion of the Pact with the Federalists to end the language deadlock has been the greatest achievement of the present Government. Although it was rejected by extremists in both camps the majority of the people welcomed it.

This year has seen the nationalisation of the bus services. This step was universally welcomed not only because it held out the prospects of a better transport service but also because the capitalist bus magnates had been a powerful factor under the former conservative Government headed by Sir John Kotalawala. The Government pushed ahead its policy of nationalisation when it introduced a Bill in Parliament to nationalise the Port of Colombo. A spate of strikes in the harbour had earned for it an unenviable reputation in shipping circles as one of the worst ports in the East. The Government hopes by nationalisation to enforce discipline in the port. The nationalisation of tea estates, foreign banks and insurance firms, which were set out in the election manifesto of the Government have been deferred, but indications in Government circles are that most of these will be nationalised before the five year period of the Government ends in 1961.

Since the assumption of the Government into power a social revolution has blown over the country destroying in its wake the hitherto existing western influences and ushering in a renaissance of the national culture, traditions, art and dress. Mr. Bandaranaike, an aristocrat by birth and educated at Oxford, gave both his personal and official patronage to this renaissance and the members of the Cabinet were quick to

follow suit by taking to the local cloth and banian. The Government in deference to Buddhist opinion gave up serving liquor at state functions and even closed the bars in the House of Parliament, Senate and the MPs hostel. Militant Buddhist opinion also moved the hand of the Government to abolish the death penalty.

Since the Government assumed office there has been a spate of strikes both in the Government and private sectors. But, the Government has adopted a sympathetic attitude towards them. Bandaranaike has however made it clear that he will take firm action against politically inspired strikes organised by the Marxist Opposition Parties, the Trotskyites and Communists for the purpose of overthrowing the Government.

Within the Cabinet itself a serious threat to the stability of the Government sprang from the internecine ideological clashes in the cabinet, a coalition of the Socialist Party led by the Prime Minister, and a Marxist splinter group led by Food Minister, Philip Gunawardene. The growing tension between these two factions came to a head recently when the Rightist ministers opposed the Socialist agricultural policies of the Minister of Agriculture and Food on the grounds that these were Communistic in outlook and character. The Health Minister, Mrs. Vimala Wijewardene, threw Cabinet responsibility and discipline to the wind and led a march of peasants through Colombo's streets in opposition to the Food Minister's proposal for the supply of fertilisers to farmers as part payment for their paddy. She won; but not before the unity of the Cabinet had been impaired. Expectations were high that the Food Minister would quit or be asked to. But, Bandaranaike, a veteran and shrewd politician was able to restore peace, unity and discipline in his cabinet by the adoption of a Code of Conduct for the guidance of his Ministers which among other matters tabooed public verbal duels between Ministers of the two factions.

When the Prime Minister addressed the Ceylon Chamber of Commerce recently, at their annual general meeting, he dispelled the fears of the prophets of doom here and abroad, that since the assumption of the People's United Front into office the economic stability of the country was deteriorating. He stated that in a fundamental sense Ceylon was economically in a sounder position than almost every country of Asia and that Ceylon could even be compared favourably with countries outside Asia. He emphasised that he was not brushing aside the difficulties which the country was experiencing and which it hoped to overcome, but that he wished to present the true economic picture of the country in a better perspective.

He pointed out that Ceylon's Bank Rate when compared with that of the UK today, was double or even more. Ceylon's external assets were at a figure roughly speaking, equivalent to a normal year's Government revenue while the total national debt also amounted to a very modest figure, again roughly of a year's Government revenue. The latest Report of the Central Bank shows that Ceylon's external assets which had been falling since October 1957 increased by Rs.16.4 million in February 1958 and now stood at Rs.955.8 million. External banking assets have risen by Rs.11.5 million. The Report added that provisional figures of the Government's cash operations in February 1958 show a net cash operating surplus of Rs.6.9 million when compared with a deficit of Rs.26.3 million in February 1957. The cumulative surplus for the first five months of the current financial year was Rs.2.3 million, compared with a deficit of Rs.43.2 million for the corresponding

Since going to press, the Language Pact which had been hailed as the greatest achievement of the present Ceylon Government, has become a dead letter. Prime Minister Bandaranaike has stated that he cannot implement the pact as the Federal Party leaders have begun a campaign whipping up communal tension by their objection to the use of Sinhalese "Sri" lettered buses in the northern and eastern provinces.

period 1956-57. With regard to the entry of foreign capital the Prime Minister emphasised that Ceylon needs foreign capital and that the Government was prepared within reason, to encourage foreign investment here.

The recently established Planning Council and Secretariat have set about the task of drawing up a Plan for the economic development of the country. Foreign Planning experts have been invited to help in the task. The international Planning Expert, Professor Gunnar Myrdal, a Swedish economist and Professor Nicholas Kaldor, the tax expert have already arrived. This year's budget is being prepared on the advice of the Planning Council and these experts. The Government is optimistic that this year's budget will provide more benefits for the people and that it will be a typical Socialist budget. Most of the money will be channelled into new development works particularly in the field of industry. But a good proportion of the money will also have to be diverted for rebuilding the areas devastated by floods when a monsoonal deluge, last December, washed half a million people from their homes and breached 500 of the earthen irrigation tanks on which the cultivation of paddy is dependant. The damage was estimated at £75 million.

## Malaya

### "Safe for Democracy"

*From our Kuala Lumpur Correspondent*

Important declarations on the Emergency are made by Malaya's Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, in a letter to 35 British Labour Members of Parliament. The letter is in reply to one sent by the MP's to the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, in which they urge the withdrawal of British and Commonwealth troops from Malaya. The MP's expressed the view that the ten-year-old Emergency in Malaya was an internal conflict and should not depend upon forces from Britain. They added that the presence of foreign troops seemed to them "inconsistent with the independence of Malaya."

Today there are still 1,500 armed Communist terrorists remaining in the jungle, many of them the hard core who have survived the whole Emergency. In 1950-51 there were more than 11,000 armed terrorists.

Tunku Rahman, in his reply, made it clear that the presence of Commonwealth troops in Malaya involved no infringement of Malayan sovereignty. He said that Malaya welcomed help not only from the Commonwealth but other countries in the free world. The struggle against the Communist terrorists could not be considered in isolation as an internal matter since it was vital to the entire free world. If Malaya were forced to fight alone she would find the burden "well-nigh intolerable," said the Prime Minister. He further added that it was "because Malaya and the United Kingdom and other Commonwealth Governments were engaged voluntarily in a joint enterprise which they all considered of paramount importance that no infringement of Malayan sovereignty was involved."

"We are determined to make this country safe for democracy and safe for the type of life to which we have been used. There can be no two ways about it. Either we crush them or they crush us. The way we are carrying out this fight against them indicates that they will be crushed and this will be soon enough," he added. As a final word of warning, the Prime Minister said that the defeat of Malaya would mean a terrible set-back for the free world.

The president of Party Raayat (Peoples' Party), Mr. Ahmad Boestamam, however, did not share the Prime Minister's views.

He said that no independent country in the world, except Malaya, had foreign troops dominating her defence. "Malaya's case is not only peculiar but certainly very strange," he said. Mr. Boestamam described terrorism in Malaya as merely an uprising by a group of people who were against the Government. The Malayan Communist Party received no support from any Communist country and therefore to suggest that their struggle was an international issue was incorrect, he said. He challenged the Alliance Government to resign if they found they could not deal with the terrorists promptly. "If they cannot end the terrorist war it is a sign of their weakness and such a Government is not fit to rule," he added. Party Raayat, continued Mr. Boestamam, was determined to repeal the existing Anglo-Malayan Mutual Defence Pact if and when it got into power. The pact was the very instrument that had led Malaya to be "ashamed" of her independent status, he said.

Meanwhile in Kuala Lumpur it has been noticed that the three-year trek by Chinese students from Malaya to China, who returned to their mother country in the hope of better conditions and better educational facilities, has ended. After Malayan independence last year the movement of Chinese students to China dropped to a trickle, and in the last four months it has come to an abrupt end.

Shortly after the Communists came to power in China, a propaganda campaign was started with a view to encouraging overseas Chinese teenagers to return to their mother country offering free higher educational facilities. It is estimated that at least 100 Chinese students from Malaya (excluding Singapore) accepted the offer. A few of these students have since returned — others in China are "crying blue murder" to come back to Malaya, according to Government sources here — but whether they have returned or have written trying to come back, their stories are all of disappointment and frustration.

"China is now going through very hard times," said a Government spokesman here who specialises in Chinese affairs. "Government bloc bursaries have been slashed and at the same time individual allowances have been cut to the bone." The Malayan Government claims to have concrete evidence that a peasant in China is lucky if he earns \$100 (Malayan) a year; a labourer in Malaya will earn nearly twice this amount in a month. All students in China, including those from overseas, are compelled to undertake so many hours a week manual labour away from their studies.

So many Chinese students from Malaya dashed off with such enthusiasm to China that they made no arrangements for re-entry into this country. Consequently, they are now facing the penalty and desperately trying to get back. "All we can say is that those who accepted the offer now realise that they have been duped," said a senior Government officer.

The Malayan Government has offered free passages overseas for anyone who wishes to avoid National Service. But there will be no bands at the wharves to bid the departing Malayans goodbye and there will be no official farewell either. And what is more, the ticket will be strictly one-way. Applicants for the passage should be sent to the Prime Minister. The letter should say: I am eligible to take out Federal citizenship and was thinking of doing so, but I am not going to now, because I am afraid I will be called up for National Service.

The Prime Minister said in Kuala Lumpur, "As far as I am concerned these people can get out of the country — if anyone else will have them. I will even pay their passages." In a comment on National Service dodgers, he said that no country would have time for men who wanted to avoid National Service. "It does not necessarily mean that they will have to take up a gun and go and shoot it out with the Communists. Their services might be wanted in the civil defence or other work." "This National Service order was not a test of citizenship. But if National Service worries them then they are not worth much to us or to any other country in the world. This country has no time for them and if any other country wants them then we will send them there," he added.

Finally, on another domestic note, it has been announced

here that the Malayan Railway Administration is making a desperate bid to recruit engineers from overseas to overcome the staff shortage caused through Malayisation. Malayan embassies in Britain, India, Pakistan and Australia have been told to look around for qualified engineers who would be willing to work in Malaya for a period of three years. The Crown Agents in London, too, have been approached by the Administration. The general manager of the Railway Administration, Mr. C. G. Harrison, said that they would only want engineers as a stop-gap until sufficient Malayans finished their training. The number of expatriate officers in the Malayan Railway has dropped from 68 to 33 during the last 18 months.

## Singapore

### Clandestine Arms Deals

*From Our Singapore Correspondent*

The fighting in Sumatra continues to have repercussions in neutral Singapore. In spite of the ban on the export of war supplies, cloak-and-dagger brokers have been offering for sale landing craft and helicopters to the highest bidders on either side of the warring Indonesian factions. The landing craft (LCTs) are believed to be British war surplus now in private hands in England. The helicopters are believed to be American war surplus in Formosa. The actual handing over of these items would take place outside Singapore. The LCTs can be delivered in England, on the high seas, or anywhere selected by the purchasers outside Singapore. The helicopters can be flown to Indonesian territory by the seller's own pilots.

The Central Indonesian Government has alleged that supplies have been parachuted into the Sumatran rebels by transport aircraft based on Formosa. The rebels counter this allegation by saying that ten freighters have been purchased by the Central Indonesian Government from Russia. But in the midst of all this accusation and counter-accusation much interest has been centred on a Nationalist Chinese Civil Air Transport C46 which has been making frequent "test flights" from Singapore Airport in the past weeks. The plane first arrived at Singapore on March 6. All that is certain about the movements of this aircraft is that it suddenly left at the beginning of April for Manila carrying on board extra "aircrew" in the form of Mr. Des Alwi, the rebel Government's Press Officer, and Major Jan N. J. Pantouw, aide to the Celebes rebel leader, Colonel V. Sumual. Both these men are thought to have arrived recently in the Colony by fast motor launch from Sumatra. The Singapore Police are now tightening up on the security measures they are taking in regard to the entry and exit of Indonesians likely to be partisans in the Sumatran war.

It is certain there is a crisis throughout the City Council services. More and more senior and experienced expatriate officers are leaving the Council's services as a result of dissatisfaction over their treatment and uncertainty as to their future. The Secretary-General of the City Council Services Union, representing 2,600 clerical and junior employees, has also voiced his dissatisfaction with the way the Mayor is riding roughshod over the staff.

The general feeling in Singapore is that matters are rapidly approaching a climax when the central Government will have to step in and take over the City Council, but this would undoubtedly be a serious step only to be taken as a last resort, after all other measures had failed.

## Australia

### Apathy

*From Charles Meeking*

(EASTERN WORLD Canberra Correspondent)

Australia in the last few years has had the kind of opportunity for influencing world events which is given to few nations, especially small ones. It could have given a lead to the economically and politically unstable South-East Asian area, could have established a well-based claim to speak there for the West. It might have persuaded the United States that western weapons and western advice in quelling rebel outbreaks in Indonesia (and for confronting Dutch arms in West New Guinea?) would have been preferable to the now-available arms and advice from the Communist nations.

Australia, indeed, could possibly have even tried to explain to a critical Asian world why France, which has only Noumea and a part-share of the New Hebrides in the nearby Pacific, is in SEATO, while Holland, with its obstinate clinging to West New Guinea, is not.

Refusal of the Dutch to show any interest in SEATO is never mentioned in Australia, despite Holland's greater stake in the area than France — if the Dutch claims are admitted. Yet Canberra and The Hague continue to talk about cooperation for the economic development of the whole of New Guinea and the advancement of native peoples there. It is obvious why Indonesia and the rest of Asia are completely cynical on the subject, and why they believe the Russian claim that West New Guinea is becoming an armed base.

The Australian Minister for External Affairs, Mr. R. G. Casey, says at one moment that unrest in Indonesia is an internal affair, for the republic to adjust for itself. Then he deplores the growing strength of Communism in Indonesia, and views the reported purchases of arms from the Iron Curtain with concern. In other words, Australia has no policy on the subject, and seems afraid to frame or proclaim one. In the meantime no real effort to encourage stability in Indonesia is being made. A former London journalist, Malcolm Muggeridge, now in Australia, has upbraided Australians for their indifference to the situation in Indonesia, with complete justification. But in the same articles he has displayed an irresponsible lack of knowledge by asserting that nothing can be done to prevent Indonesia from eventually entering the "Communist orbit."

Australia could have shown sympathetic perception while Russia, the United States and most of the world remote from Indonesia were displaying alarming prejudice or ignorance of the problems. It failed, however, to give any symptom of a lead to the West on an issue vital to the world and crucial to Australia itself. It may have missed one of the great chances of history.

Canberra now seems more concerned at the political manoeuvrings which will culminate in the federal election — to be held at the end of the year unless the Government surprises everyone, including its own supporters, by seeking a prior double dissolution because the banking legislation failed to pass an evenly-divided Senate. There does not even appear to be any real attempt to define necessary defence preparations to meet possible and prospective dangers of the next decade. On the Labour Opposition side, still divided by schism, there continues to be a dogged refusal to acknowledge that national foreign policy should be something above politics, essentially a subject on which Australia must now speak with a clear and

united voice or soon be compelled to remain silent for ever.

On the economic front, the nation is "getting by," with a minimum of unemployment, in spite of lower prices for wool and metals. The migration programme has been slightly curtailed, and some attempt has been made to ease credit, to allow more houses to be built in election year. There should be tremendous public concern at trends of trade in Asia, in countries where Australia could and should have great, growing and permanent markets, but there is no obvious worry, no real bid to exploit the difficult but promising markets of China and India, or to combat the astute trading moves of Japan and of Eastern Europe in Asia.

It cannot be suggested seriously, of course, that Australia's small population and limited resources are capable of supplying any large proportion of Asian needs, or of influencing Asian policies in the face of the well-financed and cleverly-directed Communist propagandists. Yet the indifference of Australia, the ignoring almost completely of the fantastic ferment today in Asian peoples, spells a warning of the gravest dimensions for the Australian peoples. This continent has achieved something dynamic in its recent development. It could, if it wished, advise its Asian neighbours on economic stability, and it could assist those neighbours along democratic paths. It is not trying to do so in any real sense, and its own prestige and influence in Asia are suffering accordingly, and are likely to deteriorate further. Australia, in fact, must bear much of the responsibility if Communism continues to make inroads in South-East Asia, if Asian arms are Communist-made and supplied, if Asian policies are founded on Marx, and if Asian markets continue to close against western suppliers.

It is not too late for statesmanship. Australians should recognise now that the situation is more urgent for them than for anyone else, that a new era has begun in Asia, for better or worse.

it has been mailed out to important people ("opinion-formers," as the Americans call them) throughout the country.

Senator Kennedy declared that "India affords the United States an unparalleled opportunity to make a decisive contribution to the future pattern of Asia. Her size, her influence and example throughout the uncommitted world, the critical contrasts being made between the economic development of India and China all serve to make India a vital test for western statesmanship. The path which India — and, with her, other less developed nations — takes will be determined in large measure by actions which we and other free world partners take now — this year and during the next few years. The steps I outline can serve to reinforce the individual assistance programmes of many nations and could be adopted to other under-developed nations with clearly defined programmes of economic growth."

After a well-documented and sympathetic analysis of India's progress and problems, Senator Kennedy proposed the following programme:

#### *I. Immediate Legislation and Administrative Action*

(a) Making the balance of the 1951 wheat loan — some \$170 million — repayable in rupees rather than dollars, so as to improve India's credit position.

(b) A supplement to the recent loan of \$125 million by the Export-Import Bank, plus a relaxation of the requirement that it be used to purchase only American goods.

(c) Congressional approval of the President's request for an additional \$625 million for the new Development Loan Fund, and the reduction of the interest rates charged by this Fund.

(d) Expansion of the programmes under which American surplus food is being made available to India, plus exploration of the possibility of putting the rupees received in return to constructive use.

(e) Favourable action on the joint Indian-Japanese request for \$50 million to develop Indian ore supplies for the Japanese steel industry.

#### *II. American Action over the Life of the Plan*

Congress should act upon a resolution expressing American interest in the success of the Indian Five-Year Plan and a willingness to commit itself to aiding its achievement. (Together with Senator John Sherman Cooper, a Republican and a former Ambassador to India, Senator Kennedy introduced such a resolution).

#### *III. Multilateral Action in Support of Indian Economic Development*

The designation by the Organisation for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) of a sub-committee to go to India and to recommend plans by which long-term assistance could be given by all the member countries through an international consortium. Said Senator Kennedy: "Not only will this permit the various nations better to mesh their programmes; but it will also make easier a proper balance between private investment and investment by governments in India."

Senator Kennedy concluded by saying: "There is no visible political glory for either party in coming to the aid of India, particularly at a time of high taxes and pressing defence needs. The task of "selling" such a programme to the American people is far more difficult than the Marshall Plan a decade ago — for we were more familiar with the people and problems of Europe, our ties were closer, their economies more directly aligned with our own and held more certain promise of success. But the need — and the danger — are as great now as then. India today represents as great a hope, as commanding a challenge, as western Europe did in 1947 — and our people are still, I am confident, equal to the effort."

Senator Kennedy has thus taken the initiative which the Administration very seriously considered taking — but refrained from doing so because it feared that public opinion would not support it. By this raising his voice — and he has already been warmly supported by Senator Cooper and by Congressman Emanuel Celler — Senator Kennedy hopes to set in motion the process of stirring public opinion to the pitch\* at which it will impel a chronically timid Administration into action.

## United States

### Interest in India

*From David C. Williams*

(EASTERN WORLD Washington Correspondent)

An eloquent voice has been raised on the floor of the United States Senate on behalf of aid to India in the crisis that has overtaken her second five-year plan — that of Senator John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts.

Kennedy, a Democrat, is at present the front-runner for his party's nomination for the Presidency in 1960. He has as assets his youth, charm, immense political appeal to the voters of his own state, and the great wealth of his father Joseph Kennedy, former Ambassador to Britain. He has two principal handicaps — being a Senator and being a Catholic. Only one Senator has won a Presidential nomination in this country. Since Governor Smith of New York was nominated by the Democrats in 1928, and overwhelmingly defeated by Herbert Hoover, no Catholic has been nominated — and never in American history has a Catholic served as President.

Kennedy believes that he can overcome both these handicaps. To do so, he is seeking to enhance his national stature by major speeches on carefully chosen subjects. Last year he spoke out forcefully in favour of a negotiated settlement between France and Algeria, and of American aid to Poland. This year he has chosen India as his major theme.

As is customary with major speeches, Kennedy's March 25 speech was circulated before delivery to all of his fellow-Senators and to every important journalist. Since its delivery,

## Outer Mongolian Party Congress

THE steady transformation of the Mongolian People's Republic from a feudal pastoral country into a modern industrial state on the Communist pattern and promotion of good-neighbourly relations with China and other countries, were spotlighted at the 13th Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary (Communist) Party held in the capital city of Ulan Bator between March 17-22.

In recognition of Mongolia's independent status, India, Burma and Indonesia, in addition to the Communist countries, have established diplomatic relations with it. Meanwhile Outer Mongolia is claiming a seat in the United Nations—a claim which remains unfulfilled due to the reluctance of the western permanent members in the UN Security Council to approve its membership application.

Since the signing of the Sino-Mongolian economic and cultural cooperation agreement in 1953, mutual friendly relations and collaboration have so deepened that no longer is it possible for critics to aver that China has not forsaken for good her past territorial aspiration concerning the country. In fact, the creation of Inner Mongolia as an autonomous region of China has spurred the crystallisation of cordial relations and mutual reliance between the two Mongolias. As a result, Peking is extending all possible economic, technical and cultural aid to Ulan Bator to help Outer Mongolia buttress its independent status. This explains why the country is receiving voluminous Sino-Soviet assistance to realise the planned political economic and cultural targets designed to hasten its socialisation.

Early this year an air communications agreement was signed between China and Outer Mongolia to open a civil air service between the two countries. This was followed by other accords regarding technical cooperation in civil aviation and air transport and mutual service between the civil aviation administration of China and the administrative bureau of air communications of the Outer Mongolian Ministry of the Army and Public Security. In the latter part of last year the Mongolian People's Republic signed a series of trade agreements with East European countries, not only to improve its economic position, but also to take the fullest advantage of the stipulated economic intercourse for the benefit of its three-year (1958-1960) economic and cultural plan drafted in July 1957.

Following the achievements of the second five-year plan ending in 1957, the three-year plan was drafted to accelerate the pace of industrial strides of the Republic. It was then circulated throughout the country for eliciting public opinion and criticism and was adopted without substantial changes at the 13th Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party. Under the plan the total investment for the three-year period is set at 700 million tugrik\*, 19 percent more than the amount specified in the second five-year plan. One of its major tasks is the further development of agriculture and animal husbandry by turning additional pasture land to farming. By 1960 livestock will be 5.6 percent more and the cultivated area 230 percent more than in 1957. The strains of three million sheep and 70,000 cows will be improved by cross-breeding with Soviet breeds. Efforts will be made to encourage 50 percent of individual herdsmen to join state cooperatives and settle down gradually. Gross industrial

output output in 1960 will be 139 percent that of 1957. State industry will increase in the three years from 83 percent to 85 percent of the total industry and the population of the workers will be up by 13 percent. By 1960 petroleum produced in the Eastern Gobi will be enough to provide 50 percent of the country's annual consumption. The volume of retail trade will be expanded by 29 percent in the three years, reaching a total of 800 million tugrik. At the same time, exports to foreign countries will be increased by 19 percent. Also civil air lines will be extended to various provinces to develop a national air travel network.

The three-year plan makes adequate provision for extending compulsory elementary education to the rural areas, while in the cities a seven-year education system will be enforced. It is calculated that by 1960 the number of primary and middle school students will surpass 100,000. In this connection it is interesting to note that an article recently appearing in the party paper, *Unian* (Truth), by Tawal, Secretary of the Writers' Association of Outer Mongolia, depicts the literary progress of the country. Tawal says that over 3,700 articles on literary subjects were published in the last five years, of which over one-third were written in 1957. *Dawn* and *The Doctor* were among the most popular novels published during this period. Newspapers had devoted increasing space to literary works and there were three literary periodicals in 1957 compared with only one in 1953. Many works by Soviet, Chinese and East European writers had been published in these periodicals. The Writers' Association of the Mongolian People's Republic published 36 books last year. Thus, the MPR, under the current three-year plan, has taken a leap forward to rid itself of still-lingered feudal conditions and illiteracy as early as possible so as to make the envisaged industrial and cultural age a concrete reality.

The 13th Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, which now has more than 36,000 members and over 6,500 candidate members, was opened by Dordj Damba, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party. He emphasised that the Mongolian People's Republic pursued a foreign policy of preserving peace and advancing friendship among nations. It stood by the five principles for peaceful coexistence among countries having different social systems. The foreign policy of Mongolia fully conformed to the aims and principles of the United Nations and therefore Mongolia was entitled to membership of that organisation.

Damba said that Outer Mongolia had changed from a purely livestock-raising country into an agro-industrial, livestock-raising country. He revealed that during the second five-year plan period the number of livestock increased by 2.4 percent and the plan for a nine-fold increase in livestock-raising cooperatives had been overfulfilled. In 1957 35 percent of herdsmen's households and 5.2 million head of livestock had been enrolled in cooperatives as against five percent of herdsmen's households and half a million head of livestock in 1952. Cultivated area expanded 50 percent during the second plan period and industrial output made up 41 percent of the total national production. The total industrial output increased by 69 percent and the number of industrial workers reached 27 percent of the population. Total investments in capital construction were 500 million tugrik.

\*£1 = 11.20 tugrik.

## Recent Books

**Documents on Communism, Nationalism and Soviet Advisers in China, 1918-1927.** Edited by C. MARTIN WILBUR and JULIE LIEN-YING HOW (Columbia University Press. London: Oxford University Press, 70s.)

These fifty documents, available for the first time in English translation, provide new information on a phase of the revolutionary movement in China, of which Communism has been a part.

Originally they were seized during a raid on the Soviet Legation in Peking in April 1927 by Chinese Government police under orders from Chang Tso-lin. It was an incident which might at the time have led to something serious in the relations between Moscow and Peking. The Soviet Military Attaché's office was at the time a directing point for Soviet agents working as advisers and instructors among Chinese revolutionary groups. The editors have provided introductions and notes which amplify the material and tie the documents together.

J.W.T.C.

**The Far East — A Social Geography** by A. D. C. PETERSON. Third edition, revised. (Duckworth, 25s.)

Although few, if any, professional geographers have ever regarded this book as being a true social geography, many were quick to appreciate its real merits when the first edition appeared in 1949. Thus, notwithstanding some deplorable sketch maps and a consistent misuse of standard geographical terms, for example, the habit of referring to relief as structure, the book was welcomed for the excellence

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of its illustrations and above all for its lively portrayal of the Asian social scene in the immediate post-war period.

In this new and recently revised edition none of the original blemishes have been removed and, to judge from both the text and the booklists, the author has not troubled to consult any of the impressive list of relevant geographical works, such as those by Spate on India and Pakistan, Cressey on China and Dobby on South-East Asia, which have appeared in the meantime. In the reviewer's opinion such omissions are inexcusable in a book which claims to be a study of the contemporary social geography of the Far East.

Furthermore, although there has been some attempt to record the more important events which have occurred in the region since the first edition appeared, this has been done almost entirely within the restraints imposed by the original pagination, and the resultant picture is seriously out of focus. Thus, for example, the profound changes in the economic geography of China which have taken place since 1949 receive wholly inadequate treatment, and in the section on Indonesia, which describes the political struggles associated with the birth of the republic at considerable length, the events of the past nine years are dismissed in a mere 16 lines. Events in Asia have moved far too rapidly since 1949 for a book of this kind to be kept up to date by such limited means.

CHARLES FISHER

**India in the United Nations:** Report of a Study Group by The Indian Council for World Affairs (Manhattan Publishing Company, \$3)

This report, which is one of a series initiated by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace to which some twenty other countries have already contributed studies of their own relations with the United Nations, outlines India's attitude and activities in this world organisation. Though far from exhaustive, as indeed it could not be within the limits of little more than 200 pages, the book gives an adequate report of Indian policy in the major issues dealt with by the UN since its inception. It is on the question of admitting China to the UN that the basis of India's attitude, so often misunderstood, to the whole of western policy in the UN is most clearly stated:

In all these developments Indians saw the United Nations changing its character and becoming the executive organ of an anti-Communist bloc. The conversion of the United Nations from the status of a world organisation to an instrument of one bloc of nations was considered as a negation of the United Nations Charter.

The men responsible for the report, a panel or study group of nearly a dozen distinguished Indian economists,

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historians, administrators and journalists have been at great pains to produce a detached and factual report. They state no opinions of their own on the merits of any case, and though they give some quotations from the Indian press and from Mr. Nehru himself, the fervour and vehemence characterising Indian feeling about world affairs, not least as a leading spokesman of the Bandung nations, is largely absent.

P.W.

**A World on the Move (Amsterdam: Djambatan, 45s.)**

This is a history in pictures with related text of colonialism and nationalism in Asia and the Middle East from the beginning of this century to the Bandung Conference. It is the finest collection of its kind I have ever encountered and well justifies the claim of its publishers that it illustrates, in the literal sense, the history of Asia in the first half of a turbulent century.

There are nearly 700 pictures, some of them astounding records of historic events, such as the early nationalist and Communist activities in Indonesia; the Saya San revolt in Burma between 1930 and 1932; and the putting down of the Sakdalista revolt in the Philippines. There are three dominant features noticeable in the illustrations taken as a whole: personalities, civil violence, and military action. These three aspects somehow sum up a half-century of nationalist struggle, and they have a more vivid impact through the eye of the camera than they often do through writing. Some of the illustrations must have been difficult to obtain, for we know the book took quite a time to compile.

J. W. T. COOPER

**An Anthology of Modern Japanese Poetry edited and translated by ICHIRO KONO and RIKUTARO FUKUDA (Tokyo: Kenkyusha, \$2.00)**

In a short but useful introduction to their selections, the compilers discuss the developments in Japanese poetry; the *tanka* and *haiku* are short and have all the suggestiveness of the brief, while there are many shackling conventions in the matter of form and language. But the influence and imitation of European models have led to the shaking off of such inhibiting limitations in Japan's modern poetry.

The process was initiated by the publication in 1882 of a *Collection of New Style Poems*, the majority of which were translations of European poems. Since 1930, there have been two main streams — the "music-first" school, with its subjective romanticism, and the "imagists," intellectual, cosmopolitan and objective. These two main streams have survived the war — when the emotional springs in the former led easily to nationalistic jingoism — and, apparently, Japan's democratic facade. Strangely, as a remote "ism,"

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**Japan's Economic Recovery****G. C. ALLEN**

This book describes and explains the course of recovery in Japan's industrial production, foreign trade, agriculture and finance, comparing and contrasting the present with the pre-war economy in its structure and organization. (Chatham House) 25s. net

**The Evolution of India****VIJAYA LAKSHMI PANDIT**

These three lectures formed the second series of Whidden Lectures at McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, delivered in January 1957, and the book's title comes from the first lecture, in which Mrs. Pandit reviews the historical process that has moulded Indian civilization and given it a universal character. 6s. net

**Japan Between East and West****HUGH BORTON and others**

The theme of this symposium by six experts on Japanese affairs is the assumption by Japan of her rightful place in the international community, and the problems this entails. (Council on Foreign Relations) 38s. net.

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democracy had a potent effect on Japan's poems and poets in the post-1918 period; yet, as a living system overturning just about every other aspect of Japanese life, it has hardly moved the poet at all. And, of course, there is the big influence of the "Arechi" — Waste Land — school.

The compilers have dragged their nets widely to produce an interesting and informative corpus. It is interesting to note that Bikini's ash has fallen on so many poet's pads —

"Ashes of death, Bikini's rain  
Words are rapping the table." G.B.

### The Tree Planting Practices in Tropical Asia (*Rome: FAO, 7s. 6d.*)

This expert study summarizes the methods of artificial restocking of forest lands used in tropical Asia. It is found that if species are planted in their preferred soils and climates, planting methods vary little from one country to another. The account sets forth these common technical facts in a clearly understandable manner. L.A.

### The Spirits of the Yellow Leaves by HUGO ADOLF BERNATZIK (*Robert Hale, 21s.*)

It has become commonplace for anthropologists and other scientific workers in the field to produce books of their experiences with the object of interesting the sort of reader that has an insatiable appetite for travel and adventure. If a man has an interesting experience to recount it would be wasteful not to make it available to a wider public, but so many scientific fieldworkers, after the thesis or monograph has been written, make the mistake of cashing in on a popular form of literature which they are ill-equipped to provide. Such, unfortunately, is the case with Dr. Bernatzik and his wife, with whom he collaborated in this book.

Their work among the primitive tribes of the Indo-China, Siam, Burma borders was undoubtedly fascinating scientifically, but they have not been very successful in getting their adventures over to the ordinary reader. Some passages on the habits and behaviour of the tribes are not without interest, but the reader is inclined to weary of a succession of trite incidents with no thread to bind them together.

But perhaps the greatest fault is that the author's journey was undertaken some twenty years ago, and although life among the Moi tribes, or the Phi Tong Luang and the Meau might be timeless, it certainly is not in the populous fertile areas of south Siam and Malaya. You cannot, therefore, pass off to the reader, now, in 1958, what was written

in 1938 as if nothing had changed. "There are a great number of Indian coolies (in Burma), who come in in thousands every month," and the few pages on "modern" Bangkok are laughable. It is surprising that Dr. Bernatzik should have been content to allow a book which, it seems, appeared first in Munich in 1938, to have been published in London now.

J.W.T.C.

### Ashma (*Peking: Foreign Languages Press*)

### The Courtesan's Jewel Box (*Peking: Foreign Languages Press*)

The fighting courage of the oppressed against the oppressor is epitomized in this long narrative poem called *Ashma*. This is an ancient story of the courage of a young girl named Ashma and her brother Ahay who, by their persistent valour, put an end to the exploitation of a rich land. This saga has been immortalized by the Shani people in Yunnan province who, to this day, sing it in villages to draw strength and courage from it. The ballad, therefore, is symptomatic of the indomitable will of the Shani people and their ways of life and living. It has been very ably rendered into English.

Under the title of *The Courtesan's Jewel Box*, twenty most popular stories chosen from the famous Feng and Lin's collections have been presented. Written between the tenth and seventeenth centuries, they are some of the most representative tales of the heyday of "hua pen" or literature of storytellers' scripts. The tales have been selected for their high aesthetic qualities and their truthfulness to life. They reflect realistically the social conditions of the time and the ideals and struggles of common people. While portraying what was progressive in the outlook of the townsmen of those days, the stories satirize feudal morality and society. From the artistic standpoint, these tales form an important part of the literary heritage of China.

A.N.L.

### After the Monsoon by OLIVER MOXON (*Robert Hale, 15s.*)

Mr. Moxon undertook no easy task in writing an autobiographical war trilogy, of which this book is the final volume. He has come through with second-class honours. *After the Monsoon* is more powerful than its predecessor, *The Last Monsoon*, which was really nothing more than an exciting war story set among the air force in Imphal during the Japanese war. He fulfills here, in the last book, something of the promise of the first, *Bitter Monsoon*.

The picture he confronts us with is one familiar to many who served in the last war. The problem of adjustment to civilian life after the mental impact of conflict by young men who had never known adult life in peacetime. It is written with conviction and is, overall, a powerful argument against the depravity of war.

C.J.W.

### Books Received

- The Rising Sunset* by KEN ATTIWILL (*Robert Hale, 15s.*)
- Agricultural Marketing in India* (Vol. II) by K. R. KULKARNI (*Bombay: Co-operators' Book Depot, Rs.32.50*)
- Thunderstorm*, a play in four acts by TSOA YU. Translated by Wang Tso-liang and A. C. Barnes (*Peking: Foreign Languages Press, no price*)
- The Sarawak Museum Journal*, Vol. III, June 1957 (*Issued by the Museum, Kuching, Sarawak, \$3*)
- Early Indian Monasteries* by B. C. LAW (*Bangalore, India: Indian Institute of World Culture, Rs.2*)
- Hanunoo Agriculture in the Philippines* by HAROLD C. CONKLIN (*Rome: United Nations, F.A.O., \$2 or 10s.*)
- Income and Standard of Living in Mainland China*, Vol. I, by CHENG CHU-YUAN (*Hong Kong: Union Research Institute, 15s.*)

# AN ORIENTAL MARKET IN LONDON

*By Susan Lester*

VERY few Londoners are aware of, or concerned about the presence of "the market within a market" which exists in the East End of London, near Petticoat Lane. Almost as another sort of tradition, the Londoner believes that the wares of this particular market are far too expensive for his purse.

Yet, occupying eight acres of floor space and 127 rooms of a Port of London Authority, Cutler Street warehouse, are 132,000 stacked pieces and 2,500 unopened bales of carpet and rugs from the orient: the biggest and best place for oriental carpeting in the world. There could hardly be a more apt situation and indeed, sympathy for such a colourful Eastern scene than East London, for under one roof, or within earshot, traders from all over the world can examine over 4,000 tons of carpeting individually.

The products come from India, Persia, Afghanistan, China and the USSR, and after all their travels to London from the remotest parts of Asia by camel caravan, lorry, rail, ship and 'plane, over 80 percent are re-exported to all parts of Europe, Africa and South America. Even in the immediate post-war years when there was an absolute ban on the sale of oriental carpets other than Indian for the home trade, they still continued to come to London for the world market and that in spite of growing competition from Hamburg and Zürich. Buyers today come from Stockholm, Amsterdam, Lausanne and Johannesburg, with importers and brokers, who argue in English, French, German, Italian, Dutch, Spanish, Persian, Hebrew, Hindi, Arabic and the Scandinavian tongues. The goods they inspect and discuss include carpets up to 50 feet in length, rugs of all sizes, small squares of 12 inches or even less, fringes, saddlebags and cushions.

Many of the goods are undoubtedly made with an eye to the western market, but functional objects of the east have their own function in the west. Saddlebags in traditional designs from central Asia are sought by the Dutch, for instance, as chair upholstery; one bag serving for the seat and the other for the back. Prayer rugs woven by Islamic communities adorn Scandinavian grates.

Every piece here is hand-woven of course — not necessarily for aesthetic reasons, as everyone in the east

knows, for no machine, even if it were capable of producing knotted carpets, could produce them as cheaply as the loom workers of Ellore, Tehran and Isfahan.

It is an odd situation, though, that the English have little use for oriental carpeting, while other Europeans of a similar income bracket are becoming yearly more demanding. Purchase tax at 15 percent and import duty at 6d. a square foot are hardly sufficient to explain this and so we are left presuming that habit and tradition, as usual, are behind it. But it is really a question, be it an unconscious one on the part of the householder, of the defence of the English machine-made carpet industry, which monopolises the English market. Therefore the average Englishman does not appreciate the fact that when his machine-made carpet is worn out, a hand-made Persian, Afghanistan, Indian or Chinese, would be reaching its prime and would be a real investment in inflationary times, as it is worth more later than when he bought it.

Even allowing for these facts, what is there elsewhere to compare with the designs of the east or the workmanship? The mythology, archaeology and portraiture, which form the basis for so many Persian permuted designs, for example and Arabic calligraphy, incorporating verses from the Koran, or the poets Hafiz and Firdausi? The finest and most highly valued rugs are still those of the Bokhara

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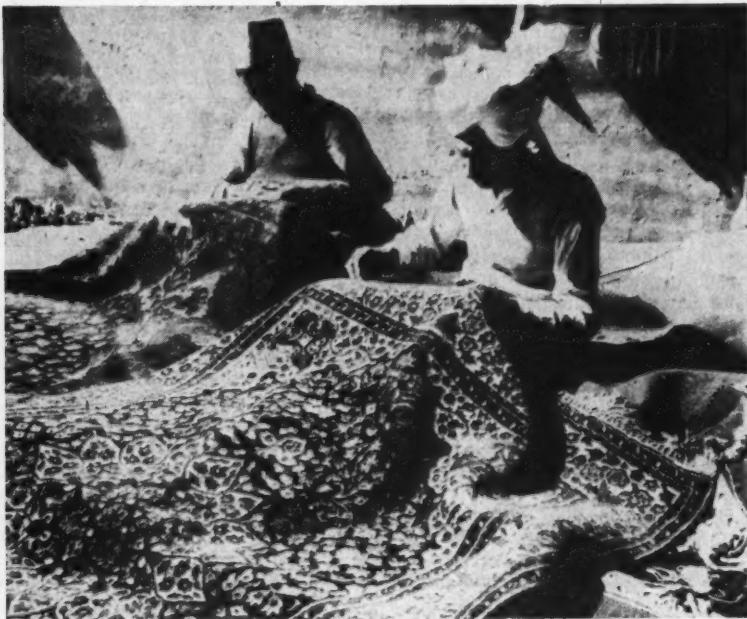
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design, which are nowadays difficult to obtain from that district of the USSR and very expensive. Lately, though,



Carpets, fresh from the loom, are hand-finished at an Amritsar factory

## Letters to The Editor

### INDIA AND ISRAEL

Sir.—Mr. Werner Levi's article entitled "India, Israel and the Arabs" in your April issue is a terrifyingly smooth collection of specious attacks on Indian policy. So thickly encrusted with fallacies in almost every sentence that it would take an article of at least equal length to expose them all. In the interests of brevity, therefore, I shall limit myself to a few points, for which I beg the indulgence of your columns.

First of all, Mr. Levi really cannot have it both ways. If India's policies are dictated by her national interests — as indeed they are, like every other country's, and as Mr. Nehru has repeatedly stated with all possible explicitness — then they cannot simultaneously be "sentimental," "unformulated rationalisation," "emotional," and "psychological," to choose just a few of the author's facile descriptions.

Evidently not satisfied with these accusations, he then goes on to declare that India's policies are in reality dictated by the ambition to lead Asia. But India's position in Asia, he asserts, is being "jeopardised," she is losing her appeal to other Asian countries, the ideas of Asian unity and neutralism propounded by India are failing in their influence, and so on.

Tut, tut, Mr. Levi. This is not up to the usual level of painstaking American research and scholarliness. Surely there can be no need to remind him of the disquiet felt by the American administration over the attraction of Indian policy and behaviour to, not only other Asian countries but the whole of the Middle East and Africa? The idea of "neutralism" — or more accurately, of non-involvement in the Western view of world policy by "deterrent" — is spreading, and not, as he avers, losing ground.

If Mr. Levi wants to know what, apart from the more intangible factors of racial, cultural and historical similarities, are the bonds among the Asian (and Arab and African) countries, he might do worse than examine their economic circumstances, to read some of the speeches at the recent Accra conference, and not least, the reports of ECAFE and ECE. These are the hard realities behind the increasing closeness and recognition of mutual interests of the Asian countries. If he does so, he may begin to understand why his imputation of motives to India is more likely to be recognised by Asians as characteristically Washingtonian — or shall I say Pentagonal? — namely self-interest, not of the normal justifiable kind, but to the detriment of everyone else's interest, veneered with a Pecksniffian religio-sentimentality that cannot quite conceal the guilty conscience, all coupled

similar rugs have been produced in Pakistan and have helped meet the demand on the London market, commanding very high prices. The London market still sells other rugs of a similar kind, notably bearing the striking traditional, octagonal motif which is also found universally among the weavers of the Tekke Turkoman and Yamoud tribes of Persia and Afghanistan, as well as the Bokhara.

The London spectator who does stumble across the carpet market, however, is usually sufficiently intrigued to want to know more about it; and he is invariably satisfied and enriched with what he learns. One genial buyer who had just concluded a morning's negotiations, for instance, was busily dispelling the writer that Persian carpets take a life-time to make. It is certainly not generally appreciated here that expert weavers tie as many as 15,000 knots in an admittedly long working day. They can thus complete even the most intricate design, depicting a scene in minute detail, within a matter of months if two or three weavers work together on the same loom. This is essentially a domestic industry, steeped in tradition and traditional ways, requiring skill and speed, which still gives man a mastery over machines.

with an openly avowed ambition to "lead," i.e. to dictate to, the world.  
Yours, etc.,

A. C. BISWAS  
London, S.W.

### BOMB TESTS

Sir.—I have been exceedingly happy to see from reports that many people in England are protesting against the hydrogen bombs. I have read about the very big meeting in London where persons gathered to ask for the end of nuclear weapon making. Many of my countrymen support the ideas of the people in England and everywhere else who want to stop this terrible bomb.

The United States is still going to test some explosions in the Pacific Ocean and this will add to the poison which is filling the sky over Japan already from many Russian explosions. There is much more radio activity in the sky now than ever before, and scientists in Japan are saying that this country is having three times more poison dust than any other place in the whole world. Nobody knows how much disease will be caused by this in the future. I want those who make the bombs to listen to the sensible voices of those who ask for the end of all atomic weapons.

Yours, etc.,  
HAJIME INTO  
Osaka, Japan.



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# Economics and Trade

## **LIBERALISATION ESSENTIAL**

THE history of mankind could be written as a history of trade development. The endeavour by merchants of advanced communities to secure outlandish produce has led to the discovery of unknown lands and people. If "barbarians" were reluctant to trade then enterprising armed merchants came and enforced trade. In the past trade was one of the most important driving factors for intercourse between peoples of different continents. Walls built around nations who wanted to live in isolation were pierced more effectively by bales of imported cotton goods than by cannon fire. History also knows cases when the imposed prevention of trade was used as a weapon e.g. the blockade of continental Europe dominated by Napoleon.

In the 20th century the attempts to strangle the young Soviet regime by economic isolation of Russia failed and these attempts were followed by a strong competition among western countries to trade with the Soviet Union. After the Second World War in the course of the Cold War new restrictions — now called embargo on strategic goods — were imposed on exports to the Soviet Union and countries

of the Soviet orbit. Following the war in Korea even stricter embargo regulations on export to China were imposed on US initiative and by US pressure on her allies. These additional embargo regulations were abolished by all western countries but the US one year ago. Everybody with the exception of those who preferred to play hide and seek with reality, understood that these additional embargo regulations were sheer lunacy. If it was not possible to destroy the Soviet regime shortly after the November Revolution (when the country was virtually politically isolated) by measures amounting to an economic blockade, then any attempt to prevent the economic development of China which was able to secure the required goods from East European countries and in some cases even from the West via the East European countries, was doomed to failure.

Now one year after the abolition of the additional embargoes to China, COCOM and CHINCOM are negotiating in Paris on the revision and possible liberalisation of the existing restricting regulations. And once again the US is reported to be trying to impose its will on those countries which want to increase the scope of their trade with the Soviet bloc countries and China. And outside the committee discussions, the US has succeeded in preventing the exports of Canadian cars to China, a measure which is detrimental to the interests of the Canadian economy. That the US still prefers to prohibit its own trade with China is a regrettable attitude; even many right-wing politicians in Europe fully realise that the development of international trade is to be welcomed as it assists in improving international relations. The regulations prevailing in the US are an internal affair of the American Government and people. But to prevent Canadian exports constitutes an interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state.

It is to be hoped that the west-European countries at the present session of COCOM and CHINCOM will — despite US pressure — again decide on the liberalisation of trade, a measure which would be in their own interest and would create a better political atmosphere.

West European industrialists rightly point out that, despite the embargo, the Soviet aircraft industry has produced planes like the TU 104, and that the Soviet Union has beaten the US in the race to produce Sputniks. Western visitors to the recent Leipzig Fair were impressed by advances made by the East European machine tool industries and by other industries, the products of which are still on the embargo list for exports from the West to these countries.

In the past trade meant intercourse between people of various countries. The same is true to-day and the more people living on both sides of various iron and bamboo curtains can learn about the other side the less suspicion, prejudice and false assumption will remain.

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## U.K. TRADE WITH THAILAND

THE United Kingdom has a favourable balance in her trade with Thailand at an annual rate of about £10 million and during the past three years this trade has shown only small fluctuations.

	1955	1956	1957
	£	£	£
UK imports from Thailand	2,524,805	3,067,294	2,812,303
UK exports to Thailand	12,215,712	13,649,597	12,480,404

An interesting feature of UK exports to Thailand is their diversification which has contributed to the steady overall value of exports to this market.

In 1957 the main categories of goods exported by UK industries to Thailand included machinery (other than electric) to the value of £2.4 million; electric machinery, appliances and apparatus £1.0 million; road vehicles £2.3 million; manufactures of metals £0.8 million. The exports of chemicals increased from £1.5 million in 1955 to £1.7 million in 1956 and to £1.8 million in 1957, and here again the diversification was very great and the exported goods included chemical elements, pigments, drugs and perfume products. In addition to these main exports UK industries have supplied rubber manufactures, cotton products, miscellaneous textiles, iron and steel products and sanitary fixtures to Thailand.

Mr. V. A. Grantham, Chairman of The Chartered Bank, in his statement at the Annual General Meeting on April 2 last, stressed the fact that "Thailand has again enjoyed a relatively prosperous year" and that "the country enjoys a measure of economic stability, which is denied to many of its neighbours in South-East Asia, because of its self-sufficiency in rice, and of the consequent well-being and contentment of its peasantry. "Referring to Thailand's prospects Mr. Grantham remarked that "If aid from abroad continues on the present scale and political stability is assured, steady progress can reasonably be expected during the coming year."

Thailand has been receiving foreign aid from the United States and a great part of this assistance was devoted to railway development and the construction of roads and airfields. A loan which has recently been granted by the World Bank has the aim of financing a hydro-electrical project and flood control in central and southern Thailand. Thailand has also received technical assistance from the United Nations and its Specialised Agencies as well as under Colombo Plan schemes in the fields of agriculture, natural resources development, health, education, industry, trade, labour, transport and communications, and administration.

In contrast to most countries of South-East Asia, Thailand — probably due to the general political set-up — has not undertaken an overall plan of economic development. But a number of varied development projects have been organised by the Government, including the major irrigation project, Chainat Dam (for this project the International Bank granted a loan to the value of \$40.8 million). According to the recent Colombo Plan report (October, 1957) the central Government expenditure on development was estimated at nearly 2,000 million Baht for 1957 as against about 1,500 million Baht for each of the previous two years.

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## Thailand's Main Exports

Thailand's rice exports during 1957 reached a record for the past five years, and since 1949 higher exports took place only in 1951. Since 1949 the exports developed as follows: 1949 — 1,213,220 tons; 1950 — 1,505,055 tons; 1951 — 1,604,063 tons; 1952 — 1,427,947 tons; 1953 — 1,340,558 tons; 1954 — 1,003,756 tons; 1955 — 1,221,151 tons; 1956 — 1,238,532 tons; 1957 — 1,572,579 tons.

Thailand's exports of tin concentrates in 1957 were the highest for the last five years and developed as follows: 1953 — 14,382 metric tons; 1954 — 13,432 tons; 1955 — 15,577 tons; 1956 — 17,531 tons; 1957 — 18,832 metric tons.

Thailand's rubber exports in 1957 were at the same level as in the previous year, showing a certain increase as against the previous three years, and developed as follows: 1953 — 97,108 metric tons; 1954 — 118,574 tons; 1955 — 132,271 tons; 1956 — 135,689 tons; 1957 — 135,617 metric tons.

## Thai Rice Production

Thailand's production of rough rice in 1957-58 is estimated at 7.5 million metric tons, about 10 percent below the 1956-57 output of 8.3 million metric tons. The decline was due to lack of rainfall early in the season. About 1.2 million metric tons of milled rice will be available for export in 1958. Rice exports have not been subject to export quotas since January 1, although export permits are still required. However, if exports continue high, quotas may be reimposed in order to protect domestic prices.

Exports of rice in 1957 rose to a postwar record of 1.6

million metric tons, from 1.2 million metric tons in 1956. Thailand's best prewar year for rice exports was 1934, when 1.9 million metric tons were shipped.

## Mechanical Handling Equipment for Asia

A very comprehensive range of mechanical handling equipment will be on show at the 1958 Mechanical Handling Exhibition to be held in London between May 7 and 17. This year's exhibition will have an international character, with products of leading firms of various countries on show.

Because of the accelerated development of Asian countries there is a growing demand for earth moving equipment, cranes, loaders, tractors, as well as handling equipment to secure a regular flow of production process and lower the cost of production.

Massey-Harris-Ferguson Ltd., Coventry, will show loaders, tractors, fork lift trucks, trailers with hydraulic tipping. In the accessory and ancillary equipment section The British Thomson-Houston Co. Ltd., Rugby, will exhibit various types of control equipment, including crane protective panels, electronic motor control, applications of photo-electric and timer equipment to conveyors and others.

International Combustion Products Ltd. London, are, for the first time exhibiting a working twin belt conveyor, the top section of which is arranged in an aluminium sheeted gantry. Other handling plant, built by this Company, hoists, drag scrapers, gravity bucket conveyors and ash handling systems will be represented by working models. Centrifuges, used for de-watering in coalfields and in gas by-product plants, as well as screens and vacseal pumps are among other exhibits of this company.

## TENDERS

The Director General, India Store Department, Government Building, Bromyard Avenue, Acton, London, W.3, invites tenders for the supply of:

### Optical equipment for lighthouse and light buoys.

Forms of tender, which are returnable on Monday, 12th MAY 1958, may be obtained from this office (CDN Branch), upon payment of fee of 10s. which is not returnable. Reference No. 1246/57.Mis.3 must be quoted in all applications.

The Director General of India Store Department, Government Building, Bromyard Avenue, Acton, London, W.3, invites tenders for the supply of:

Quantity Sets

### Super Heater Element complete with all fittings (1st to 5th Row) but without bolts and nuts and washer for BG Loco Boilers WG.

165

Forms of tender may be obtained from the above address on or after 4th April, 1958, at a fee of 10s. which is not returnable. If payment is made by cheque, it should please be made payable to "High Commissioner for India." Tenders are to be delivered by 2 p.m. on Thursday, 15th MAY, 1958.

Please quote—

Reference No. 132/57.DB/RLY.2.

The Director General of India Store Department, Government Building, Bromyard Avenue, Acton, London, W.3. invites tenders for the supply of:

Quantity Nos.

### Axlebox Guard Groove liners, Manganese Steel 26,156

Forms of tender may be obtained from the above address on or after the 18th April, 1958, at a fee of 10/- which is not returnable. If payment is made by cheque, it should please be made payable to "High Commissioner for India." Tenders are to be delivered by 2 p.m. on Thursday 29th MAY, 1958.

Please quote reference No. 135/57.RLY.

The Director General, India Store Department, Government Building, Bromyard Avenue, Acton, London, W.3, invites tenders for the supply of:

### 4 Lathes for:

- (1) Grooving and Waving
- (2) Copper Band Turning for 37mm and 75mm shot as shown on drawings available.

Machines are to be similar to the Canadian Hepburn Patent Single Purpose Machines Size A.

Forms of tender, which are returnable by Thursday, 5th JUNE 1958, may be purchased at the above address at a cost of 10s.

In your application for tender forms, please quote reference No. 2082/57/SSB/ENG.3.

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The Director General of India Store Department, Government Building, Bromyard Avenue, Acton, London, W.3, invites tenders for the supply of:

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| (c) 1/2" dia. ... ...  | 2,800 |

### M.N.S. nickel strips, cold rolled:

- |                       |       |
|-----------------------|-------|
| (a) 16 S.W.G. ... ... | 5,760 |
| (b) 11 S.W.G. ... ... | 500   |

Required for the manufacture of parts of water meter — Gear pinions etc.

Forms of tender may be obtained from the above address on or after 25th April, 1958, at a fee of 10/- which is not returnable. If payment is made by cheque, it should please be made payable to "High Commissioner for India." Tenders are to be delivered by 2 p.m. on Monday, 2nd JUNE, 1958.

Please quote Reference No. 129/57.VSN/RLY.2.

# The British Motor Industry in Asia

By A. S. Dick

*President of the Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders*

**B**RITISH motor manufacturers in post-war years have had to forge a technique for exporting their products immensely greater in scale and flexibility than anything they contemplated before the war. The success of their efforts in the decade and more since the close of hostilities is well known and, in Asia, where Britain has a long trading record, the new era has offered an unique opportunity which the British industry has not been slow to grasp.

The British motor industry's great trading opportunity in Asia since the war arose largely because so many of the countries in the area did not have dollars to buy American vehicles, once so popular there, though in many cases they have been able to dispose of a certain amount of sterling on British vehicles.

So firmly has Britain now established her position in the Asian markets that she no longer fears American competition even on that day, whenever it shall dawn, when some of these countries once more have sufficient dollars to spend on the American automotive industry. British confidence arises from a variety of sources. In the case of cars, the American automobile itself, designed as it is primarily for US roads and motoring conditions, has become too

long, and too low to be a widely acceptable vehicle for the very different circumstances in Asia. Whereas UK companies with their eyes on export markets have concentrated on making vehicles to suit them.

In the commercial vehicle field, US manufacturers have not so widely adopted the diesel engine, although diesels are more durable, more trouble-free and generally more suitable for the operation of this type of vehicle. Britain, notably in India, is actually manufacturing diesel engines in Asia and, although first costs may be greater in comparison with the petrol engine, she has pinned her faith on the diesel for commercial vehicles and believes that the switch-over to the compression-ignition unit will show increasing dividends. Our commercial vehicles are often supplied in chassis form so as to be fitted with locally built bodies for both passenger and goods transport; moderately priced, they have also proved themselves economical in operation.

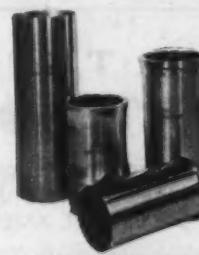
Britain was in a specially favourable position to take advantage of the USA's export difficulties due to "dollar starvation." The UK had gained a much wider experience over the years than other European car manufacturers in many Eastern markets and was earlier in the export field



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after the war, thus building up a valuable background of knowledge of current overseas needs.

All this represents a great change in attitude and techniques.

Before the war Britain neither produced nor designed cars specially for overseas consumption. Hers was principally a home market and it was only because her products were intrinsically good that, without particular effort, a number of them were sold overseas. After the war however, when the national watchword became "Export or die," the British motor industry became a potential weapon of enormous possibilities in the fight for exports. This opportunity was realised and grasped in good time by British manufacturers who immediately turned their thoughts to designing vehicles with ready overseas sale potential. This meant intensive research and development and resulted in the construction of a 650 acre proving ground and modern laboratories for the Motor Industry Research Association in the heart of England to supplement the individual resources of manufacturers themselves. Here the most exhaustive and varied techniques were devised for ensuring the suitability of a vehicle under all possible conditions of terrain. M.I.R.A. supported by the industry, and used by all British manufacturers, greatly helped the industry as a whole to think and plan for the ideal export vehicle.

Generally speaking, the more orthodox designs of vehicles remain the most popular and here the UK has a great deal to offer. Midget cars are not likely to command a great measure of acceptance in hot countries but the rather more roomy standard British small car and, to an even greater extent, the medium-sized British car, is in good

demand in the East wherever local restrictions do not limit import possibilities.

Another significant fact is that Britain is now manufacturing and assembling vehicles in Asia on a scale hitherto unknown. The acceptance of British vehicles for local manufacture in countries such as India and Japan, as well as for approved assembly arrangements in Pakistan, the Philippines and Indonesia, in fact wherever Eastern governments have called for such developments, demonstrates the adaptability and willingness of the UK industry to supply what is required.

One of the most interesting markets to show the trend towards British vehicles in Asia is the Philippines. On the criterion of this market alone, it seems a fair deduction that America is losing ground permanently to Britain in Asia. To this zone of strong American influence, though it is of course an independent republic, the USA exported 2,800 cars in 1938, and slightly fewer in 1955. Britain, however, which only exported 12 cars in 1938, exported 600 in 1955 and 1,400 in 1956. Continuing the upward trend, in 1957 Britain exported 1,850 units. In commercial vehicles, America still dominates the scene though Britain is gradually increasing her share of the market. The fact that this has been accomplished under local assembly arrangements does not, of course, affect the issue but rather underlines the general acceptability of the British vehicle per se.

Not all Britain's gains in Asia, of course, have been as marked or as significant as this and there are areas in which there has been some recession. Nevertheless, where she has lost ground it has only been in countries where the

(Continued on Page 40)

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# Planning and Design in the Cinema Industry

**By Bernard R. Bacon**

(Rank Precision Industries Ltd.)

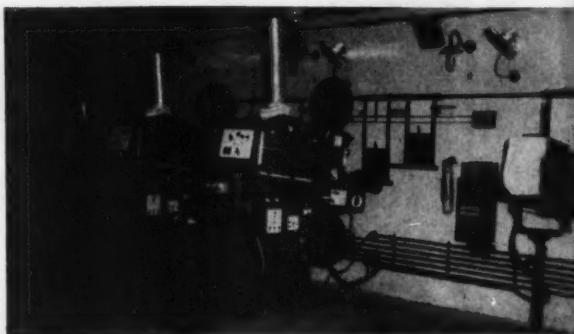
CINEMA construction, whilst diminishing in many parts of the world through the impact of television, is going ahead on an increasing scale in the Eastern Hemisphere. In Singapore, Malaya and Burma, for instance, new cinemas seem to be springing up overnight. India and Pakistan continue active in both theatre and film studio developments. All indications point to extensive progress, over the next few years, in the use of film for entertainment, and for education in its widest sense. It may be useful therefore to examine some of the factors that enter into the design and equipping of a building if there are to be good cinema theatres in today's conditions, and those of the foreseeable future.

Obviously, the design must start with the land site on which the architects will suggest a preliminary building layout, and is then submitted to the technicians associated with the projection equipment and furnishing organisation. These experts advise on the arrangement of the screen design into the sweep of the auditorium; the incorporation of the stage if live shows are to be included in the programmes; suggest seating layouts in several examples, and in conformity with picture viewing sight lines. The treatment of walls and ceilings to ensure good acoustics; suggest the assemblies of projection equipment suitable for the size of proposed screen, and amplifiers having ample speech output power to serve the seating capacity of the auditorium; to which will be coupled the adaptation apparatus required to allow the presentation of the many film systems in existence. These vary from the old standard picture with an aspect ratio of 4 to 3 through a variety of "Wide Screen" aspect ratios up to 2.5:1, from single optical sound tracks to six magnetic sound tracks on separate film requiring electrically interlocked sound reproducers, the outputs from which are amplified and fed to multiple channel outputs behind the screen, with further loudspeakers situated around the auditorium walls for "Effects" associated with the action on the film. The location and minimum space requirements will be detailed for the suite to house the projection equipment, coupling with this the auditorium and stage lighting control equipment, which is required to be located at hand for the projection staff. At this point the final building and decorating details can be decided between the architects and the owners, and the preference of equipment and furnishings advised to the manufacturing organisation, together with detailed plans of the auditorium dimensions. From these

will be determined the screen and picture sizes, and the dimensions of the frame carrying the electrically controlled variable masking, and screen and stage curtains and tracks. In effect, this completes the cycle of actual design and planning, leaving the not inconsiderable task of production, testing, delivery, installation, and final test to the workmen and engineers who are all specialists at their particular tasks.

More than passing reference should be made to the variations of the "conventional" enclosed cinema. First there is the open-air variety which closely follows normal practices except that it is entirely or partially without a roof. Seating, of course, must be capable of withstanding open-air and other climatic conditions, and for similar reasons the normal perforated fabric screen is usually replaced by a solid structure with loudspeakers placed at each side.

The second alternative, rapidly gaining in popularity all over the world, is the "Drive-in." At these sites the cinema technicians' planning and design is concentrated on the presentation of a brilliant picture, and feeding the sound reproduction



Cathay Cinema, Kedah, Malaya

into the visitors' automobiles. The picture problem is difficult due to the extremely large area of the screening structure, and the long "throw" distances between these structures and the projection points. Very powerful arc lamps are used in conjunction with film projectors of the highest efficiency, calling for special heat dissipation treatment by air and water cooling in the arc lamphouses and the projection film gates.

The distribution of the synchronised sound to the numerous "In-car" loudspeakers calls for the design of high power amplifiers, the outputs of which must be carefully matched into the network of cables feeding the loudspeaker points, always a difficult problem if good speech and musical reproduction is to be maintained.

Final and brief reference must be made to the production of the lifeblood of the cinema—the film. Planning and design in film production calls for the marriage of artistic and engineering arts, but again the same cinema equipment organisation provides the technicians and apparatus to assist in this wedding of picture and sound, from the original planning conception, through the setting up of complicated techniques of cameras synchronised and interlocked with sound recording channels, and lighting and control points, to the time when the film director signals with confidence—"Light, camera—sound."

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## INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL NOTES

### NORTH VIET NAM AND JAPAN

A Japan-North Vietnamese private trade agreement for £3 million one-way transactions has been signed in Hanoi, which is intended to provide direct trade between these two countries instead of, as hitherto, channelling them through Hong Kong. Japan will export agricultural and industrial machinery, steel goods, rolling stock, ships, non-ferrous metals, chemical fertilisers and textiles. Viet Nam will send to Japan iron ore and other mineral materials, as well as farm products.

### BIG JAPANESE PROFITS

The Tokyo Rayon Company took in total profits of 8,212 million yen last year, heading a list of the 30 biggest money makers among Japanese companies each with a capital of 100 million yen or more. Amongst them were: Yawata Iron and Steel Company, 7,874 million yen; Fuji Iron and Steel Company, 6,215 million yen; Shin Mitsubishi Heavy Industries, Toyota Motor Company and Hitachi Works, each with a profit above 5,000 million yen; Matsushita Electric Industrial Company, Nippon Kokan Company and the Fuji Bank,

each with a profit above 4,000 million yen. The profits of these 30 companies, however, were far below that of the Bank of Japan which made a profit of more than 39,000 million in 1957, or 17,800 million more than in the previous year.

On the other hand, last year's profits of the Japanese textile, mining, rubber, pulp, and foodstuffs companies were not as large as in 1956.

### JAPANESE ANTI-PIRACY DRIVE

A new drive against unfair practices, including piracy of designs, has been launched by twenty big Japanese trading firms in an effort to eliminate unfair competition in exports.

### HUNGARY AND ASIA

Hungary is to supply China with thermal power stations, vehicles, tractors, diesel engines, instruments, telecommunication equipment and drugs under a trade and payments agreement signed between the two countries. It is the eighth agreement since 1945. In exchange, China will send minerals, foodstuffs, weaving machines, tyres, woollen cloth, paper and silks to Hungary.

The Ikarus Vehicle Works, Budapest, are building 11 specially insulated motor

coaches for export to Ceylon. Designers have studied rainfall and weather variations to ensure an even temperature in the coaches. Hungary is also to exchange machinery, vehicles, electric goods and textiles for Burmese agricultural produce and raw materials under a trade and payments agreement signed in Rangoon.

### ISRAELI TRADE WITH THAILAND AND BURMA

Brighter prospects for Israeli trade relations with Thailand have resulted from the visit of the Minister of Trade and Industry, Mr. Pinhas Sapir, to Bangkok. He was received by the Prime Minister and other Cabinet members, and also had discussions with banking and commercial leaders. It is understood that talks on the establishment of commercial relations will be continued by Israel's representative in Bangkok.

In Burma, Mr. Sapir spoke with members of the Government, including the Deputy Prime Minister for Economic Affairs, on expanding the economic cooperation between the two countries. He visited the agricultural and industrial projects where Israelis are advising the Burmese.

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**LAUNCH FOR MALAYA**

This steel single screw tank launch "Merbok" was designed and built by Rowhedge Ironworks Company Ltd., to the order of the Crown Agents for Oversea Governments and Administrations, for service in Malaya.

The vessel has dimensions of 42' LO.A. x 12' moulded breadth x 5' moulded depth and is designed to carry dry cargo or fuel oil, the fuel oil cargo tanks being arranged as wing tanks on each side of the dry cargo hold. The total cargo capacity is 12 tons (either dry cargo, or fuel oil, or a combination of both) on a draught of 3' 6". A Kelvin type J4 propelling engine is fitted which, developing 44 b.h.p. at 1,000 r.p.m., gives the launch a speed of 6½ knots with full cargo. The steel hull is of all welded construction, the plating being generally ¼" thick.

**GERMAN CIVIL ENGINEERING FIRMS IN ASIA**

West German civil engineering companies have been increasing their export activity. While the total value of orders secured abroad since the end of the war up to 1956 amounted to less than DM 1,000 million, in 1957 alone it reached nearly 450 million DM. South-East Asian countries represent an important field of activity for West German companies which have been very active in Afghanistan, Burma (including the development of the port of Rangoon), India (including the development of the Port of Kandla executed by Hochtief AG., Essen) and Ceylon. The scope of civil engineering work in that region is very big but in some cases the question of long-term credits represents a serious obstacle.

**OVERSEAS CHINESE INVESTMENT IN FORMOSA**

Between the years 1952-57, overseas Chinese mainly from the US, Cuba, New Zealand, the Philippines, Burma, Japan and Indonesia, have invested US\$ 24 million in Taiwan. Altogether, 69 Formosan enterprises are operating as a result of these investments, and 55 others are still in process of construction.

**YUGOSLAV BRIDGE FOR BURMA**

The Yugoslav foreign trade organisation Invest-Import has secured a contract for the construction of a bridge in Burma. The bridge, which is to weigh 6,000 tons, will have 6 arches and a length of 650 yards.

**NORTH VIET NAM RICE FOR CEYLON**

A contract was signed in Peking last March, under which the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam will sell 5,000 tons of rice to Ceylon — the first direct trade relations between these two countries.

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**UK WOOL TRADE WITH AUSTRALASIA**

British exports of wooltops to China and India during the first two months of 1958 show a considerable increase as against the corresponding period of last year. UK exports of wooltops to the main Asian markets developed as follows:

	1956	1957	1958
	first two months of the year	£	£
India	573,238	752,330	860,836
Pakistan	61,940	328,812	85,820
Hong Kong	101,812	126,876	14,469
China	1,008,158	218,528	978,184
Japan	209,037	527,890	125,019

In addition, during the first two months of 1958 the UK exported to Japan raw wool to the value of £120,687 and wool waste for £183,408.

British overall raw wool imports amounted to 111 million lb. valued at £26.5 million during the first two months of 1958 as against 138.6 million lb. valued at £37.4 million during the corresponding period of 1957. The 1958 imports included 52.3 million lb. from Australia, 34.7 million lb. from New Zealand, 1.7 million lb. from India and 2.1 million lb. from Pakistan. The imports from China increased from 171,000 lb. valued at £35,550 during the first two months of 1957 to 363,000 lb. valued at £61,034 during the first two months of 1958.

**AFGHAN TRADE**

The total value of Afghanistan's foreign trade in transit through Pakistan during the month of December, 1957, amounted to Rs. 21,213,632. The value of items exported amounted to Rs. 11,985,542 and value of imports amounted to Rs. 9,228,090.

The items exported from Afghanistan included drugs and medicines, fruits and vegetables, raw hides and skins, raw cotton, raw wool and woollen manufactures.

The items imported included building materials, hardware and cutlery, metals and manufactures, machinery, mineral oil, rubber manufactures, tea and textiles.

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## Company Meeting

# British-American Tobacco Company Limited

The fifty-fifth Annual General Meeting was held on April 2nd in London. Mr. D. M. Oppenheim, the Chairman, in the course of his speech, said:— The increase in the Consolidated Trading Profit is approximately £4,750,000, which I am sure you will find very gratifying. Last year I mentioned that the dividends received by the Holding Company from its subsidiaries had increased. I am sure you will be glad to know that this trend continues, as reflected in the increased amount of Group Net Profit dealt with in the accounts of the Holding Company. The fact that the increase in the Holding Company's share in this profit is proportionately less than the increase in the total is primarily due to the subsidiaries' need to retain profits in order to finance the very considerable increase in the investment in fixed assets and stocks. One of the factors which accentuated the increase in stocks is the high price at which leaf tobacco had to be purchased during the year.

You will have noticed from the accounts that the Group transfer to Fixed Asset and Stock Replacement Reserves has increased by £2,600,000 as compared with last year and £950,000 of this increase applies to the Holding Company.

In a time of rising prices, profits calculated on the basis of historic cost are unrealistic in that some proportion of them is not represented by additional real assets of the business but only by the higher money value of the assets required to maintain and not expand the productive capacity of the business. It cannot be said, therefore, that a profit in the real sense has been realised until provision has been made for the difference between the cost of materials and manufacturing assets consumed in production and the cost of their replacement. The transfer to Fixed Asset and Stock Replacement Reserves shown in the accounts is a reasonable approximation calculated from year to year

on consistent principles of this difference in value which it is considered should be taken into account in arriving at the Net Profit for the year available for dividends and normal reserve appropriations.

The greater part of this transfer relates to tobacco leaf stocks and is an approximate calculation on LIFO principles of the amount by which profits would have been reduced if the current replacement value and not the book value (which is average cost) of leaf used in production had been charged against trading profits. The fact that this year's transfer is so large is due to a general increase in the cost of leaf tobacco throughout the many countries in which the Group operates. I am sorry to say that we have no reason to expect any decrease in prices in the current year.

The sales of the majority of the subsidiaries increased during the year to September last, although there were a few exceptions. In the first five months of the current year, total Group sales again show an increase over the corresponding period of last year, but I think I should say that the increase is considerably less generally spread.

The cost of materials and tobacco taxation in various countries overseas are still showing a tendency to rise and competition is intensifying with the extensive introduction of new types of cigarettes and packages. These factors, combined with price controls in some countries, may make it impossible for adequate price adjustments to be made so as to maintain profit margins. Whilst trading conditions will probably be more difficult, I am hopeful that the adverse factors will be largely, if not entirely, offset by some increase in sales and increased manufacturing efficiency and I am reasonably hopeful that the Holding Company's share of the Group Net Profit will be at least maintained for the year 1957/58.

The report was adopted.

## INDIA'S INCREASED AIR SERVICES

Civil aviation in India continued to make steady progress during 1957-58. Air-India International Corporation increased the frequency of their services to London during the year and the first batch of five Vickers Viscounts out of 10 ordered by Indian Airlines Corporation were operating on main trunk routes.

Air-India International, the report adds, have placed an order for three Boeing jet aircraft, expected to be received during 1960-61. The Corporation has secured a loan of 16.8 million dollars from the World Bank for the Boeing project, the total cost of which is estimated at Rs. 115 million.

Important capital works for next year include the extension of the east-west runway at Santa Cruz for use by jet aircraft (estimated to cost Rs. 40 million), construction of a fair-weather airstrip for use by the Bengal Flying Club at Behala (Calcutta), extension of the runway at Gauhati (Assam), construction of an all-weather runway at Muzaffarpur (Bihar), and construction of buildings for installation of very high omni-directional range facilities at various aerodromes.

## LOANS FOR BURMA AND INDONESIA

Burma has received loans of £5 million from the USSR and of £1½ million from China, for her industrialisation programme.

Indonesia has been given credits to the amount of \$100 million from the USSR, and further, still unannounced credits from China for both capital and consumer goods. To begin with, China is sending 72 million yards of textiles to Indonesia and 20,000 tons of rice.

## NEW SWISSAIR AGREEMENTS

New interim air-sea agreements have recently been concluded between Swissair and a number of shipping lines serving Far Eastern ports. They are: Anchor Line, British India Steam Navigation Co., Blue Funnel Line, P. & O. Steam Navigation Co., and Glen Line. Swissair have already sea-air agreements for Far East traffic with Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes and Lloyd Triestino.

Under these agreements, combined air-sea passages providing the usual round trip discount can now be sold between the UK and Greece, Egypt, the Lebanon, Pakistan, India, Thailand, Hong Kong, the Philippines and Japan, in conjunction with Swissair Far East services.

## CHANGCHUN MOTOR PLANT DOUBLES CAPACITY

China's first motor vehicle plant has doubled its output from 30,000 lorries to 70,000 p.a. This is to be achieved without any increase of equipment or working hours, but by bold innovations in designs, improved techniques and by simplification of working processes.

## ACSR STANDARD WIRES

**T**HE use of aluminium for the construction of overhead transmission lines is steadily gaining ground all over the world, in some fields replacing or having already entirely replaced copper even in countries where there is an abundant supply of that metal. The application of aluminium as a conductor material for overhead transmission lines is fully justified by its high conductivity, low specific gravity and high resistivity to corrosion.

Hungary, possessing rich resources in bauxite and a well established up-to-date aluminium industry, has built her overhead transmission lines for many decades, and her power cables in the last decade with aluminium conductors, thus being a pioneer in this field.

Several types of aluminium overhead conductors are known, these being of all-aluminium, steel-cored aluminium, aluminium alloy and steel-cored aluminium alloy.

Hungary is concerned with the manufacture and export of all



the above types. The largest volume of export is represented by the steel-cored aluminium conductor, which type is mostly used because of its excellent properties. Steel-cored aluminium conductors have gained an almost monopolistic position in the field of high-voltage long range power transmission, but are increasingly used also in low-voltage distribution systems.

ACSR standard wires provide higher mechanical safety than copper wires of equal conductivity. They are most suitable for crossings over wide rivers and valleys, and withstand the adverse effects of the weather, such as sleeting.

The required properties of overhead conductors are stipulated by various Standard Specifications. Some countries prefer to make their overhead transmission lines in compliance with these standards. Overhead transmission lines are most often built in accordance with the British (BSS), Canadian (CESA), German (DIN) and Swedish (SEN) Standard Specifications.

Hungary is supplying materials for ACSR transmissions lines to almost all parts of the world.

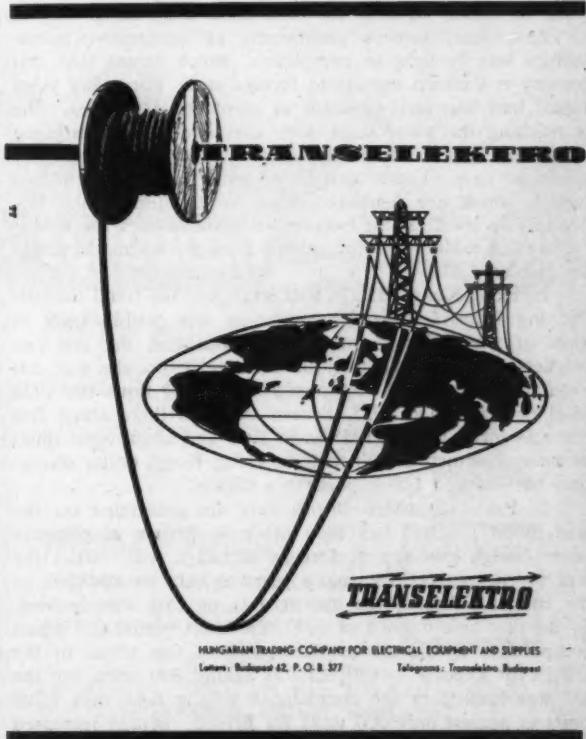
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#### The British Motor Industry in Asia (Continued)

market generally has declined. In India, where imports of foreign complete cars are now virtually non-existent and the exporting countries have to rely on manufacture of their products on Indian soil under a programme of progressive local manufacture, Britain is keeping her share. For instance the USA and Britain shared the Indian car market about equally in pre-war years, whereas last year provision for producing over 6,000 cars based on UK models was made against a North American figure of under 1,400. The quantity of British-based diesel-engined trucks and buses programmed for production in India, too, shows a considerable increase year by year.

Burma could fairly be described as a generally difficult market in post-war years and though the most has been made of such opportunities as presented themselves, our trade in motor vehicles has been on a small scale.

Last year, Japan's programme of progressive manufacture was brought to completion, which means that this country is a closed market to foreign cars. For many years Japan had been self-sufficient in commercial vehicles. She is reaching the same stage with cars and is now engaged in finding export outlets for her own home-designed and produced cars. These tend to be small and medium-sized models which are relatively expensive because of the low production level. These indigenous Japanese cars are manufactured in addition to the various foreign cars made within her borders.

In Hong Kong, Malaya and Singapore the trend towards "buying British" is as spectacular as one could expect in view of the dollar shortage. It is true that the last two markets were predominantly British even before the war, but even so, whereas the USA exported only 2½ times her 1938 total of vehicles in 1955, Britain exported there about five times as many cars in 1955 as in 1938 and about eight times as many commercial vehicles. In Hong Kong, dollar starvation has reduced US imports to a trickle.

In Pakistan, where British cars are assembled on the spot, good progress has been made by Britain in post-war years though shortage of foreign exchange will restrict the size of the market for many years ahead. In addition, at the end of February the import duty on cars was doubled. In the first nine months of 1957, the latest period for which comparative figures are available, Britain was ahead of the US in car exports — 610 units as against 380 units, but the US was leading in the commercial vehicle field with 1,500 units as against only 500 units for Britain. Britain increased

her exports of cars to Pakistan during 1955 and 1956 and there was only a slight drop during 1957. The same is true of commercial vehicles.

Another area in which Britain has made progress in post-war years is in Indo-China where, in the first nine months of 1957, she actually exported 630 commercial vehicles as against 335 units exported there by France, her traditional supplier. In the car field, France still holds a considerable lead over both Britain and the USA. For obvious reasons, no comparison can be made in this case with pre-war years.

In Ceylon, a traditionally British market, there has been an increase of the order of three hundred percent in exports of cars since 1938. A small export of commercial vehicles before the war has swelled to quite considerable proportions in the same period — from 80 in 1938 to 1,500 in 1957. Though Germany has increased her exports in both cars and commercial vehicles to this market since pre-war days, there is no sign that British export dominance is threatened.

Exports to China both of cars and commercial vehicles, owing to political factors operating both at the point of export and import, are sporadic and of little significance. Embargoes imposed by Britain and the United States on export of vehicles to this market have now largely been lifted at least by the UK, but the "vehicle starvation" imposed on China in the post-war period has had the effect of causing the Chinese to establish their own vehicle factories. There is thus some reason to believe that, in time, the Chinese may become self-sufficient in vehicle manufacture, an unfortunate economic result as far as British vehicle manufacturers are concerned.

In the field of agricultural tractors, after some difficult post-war years, Britain has made considerable progress in Asia. Exports to India for instance, have increased tremendously since the war, from a mere 7 units in 1938 to over 3,000 in 1957. Japan, too is a readily expanding market for tractors the value of our exports of which amounted to £129,000 last year. In Pakistan the trend has been significantly on the increase — from a value of £171,000 in 1956 to £628,000 in 1957.

The aftermath of war indeed opened wider the markets of Asia to the British motor industry and the latest figures show that the volume of car and commercial exports is well in excess of that from Western Germany, France and Italy combined.

Here, in the economic field, Britain is forging fresh links with the new Asia.



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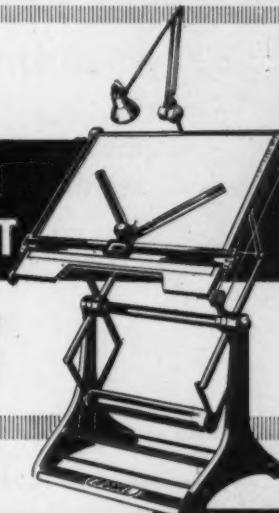
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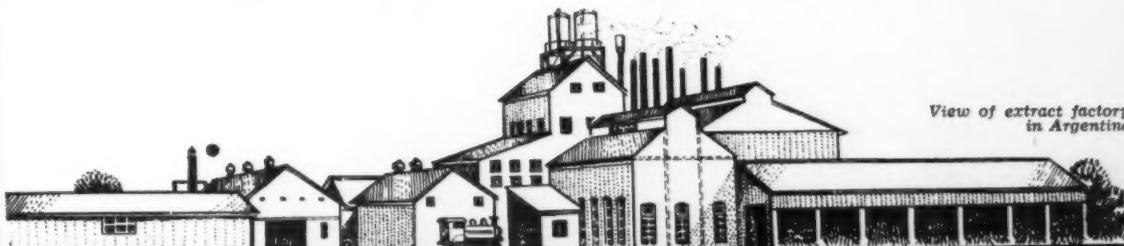
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## ★ BUCKET DREDGERS—MODEL BV.

The model BV is suitable for dealing with almost any kind of soil. The dredgings can be discharged to either side, or if required to both sides simultaneously through long or short chutes.

The buckets which are of special design have a special discharge ridge fitted to the inside which facilitates the discharge.

## ★ BUCKET DREDGERS WITH DISCHARGE PUMP—MODEL BP.

A BP is also a bucket dredger, but equipped with a discharge pump. The pump forces the dredged mixture through floating and fixed pipe line to the dumping point.

BP's are eminently suitable for jobs necessitating the dredging of widely divergent types of soil and for spanning great distances of discharge. This type of dredger has a funnel, a grid and as far as the larger machines are concerned, a fully automatic soil cutter.

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## ★ SUCTION DREDGERS—MODEL ZP.

A ZP suction dredger can only be economically exploited for the dredging of sand.

Sand which might otherwise not be suitable for being dredged by suction dredger can still be dealt with if a high-pressure force pump is installed. In such cases the dredger also proves less sensitive to sand with some admixture of clay or loam. The soil which is sucked up is also, as in the case of the BP models, passed through the discharge pump and forced through pipe line to the shore. Diesel-mechanical or electric drive.

## ★ CUTTER-SUCTION DREDGERS—MODEL ZC.

A ZC Cutter suction dredger is essentially the same as the ZP dredger, but in addition it is equipped with a cutter-installation. The shape of these cutters varies greatly. They consist of rotating knives, sometimes fitted with saw-teeth; the so-called "Crown" shape is also used. Soils suitable for this dredger are sand, peat and clay or mixtures. For each kind of soil we can construct the correctly shaped cutter.

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